


A SHORT HISTORY OF THE EVANGELICAL MOVEMENT



GEORGE RUSSELL

KESSINGER LEGACY REPRINTS



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A Short History of the Evangelical Movement

BY THE RIGHT HON.
GEORGE W. E. RUSSELL

VAE MIHI EST, SI NON EVANGELIZAVERO.

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ISABELLA CLARISSA

LADY CHARLES RUSSELL

BORN DECEMBER 11, 1810

DIED JUNE 19, 1884

NOTE

I OWE the privilege of writing this book to the fact that I was born and bred an Evangelical. The traditions of Evangelicalism in its brightest days were familiar to me from my boyhood, and are reproduced in the following pages.

Among those who have kindly helped me with information or suggestions I must specially mention Mr. Eugene Stock, D.C.L., for many years Secretary to the Church Missionary Society. Printed authorities are named on the next page, and it may be proper to add that in Chapters III and VIII I have reproduced some of my own writing from *A Dictionary of English Church History* and *The Household of Faith*.

I have not attempted to trace the history of Evangelicalism in Scotland or Ireland, but have confined my purview to the Church of England.

G. W. E. R.

Whitsuntide, 1915.

Abbey and Overton's *English Church in the Eighteenth Century*; Overton's *English Church in the Nineteenth Century*; Perry's *History of the English Church*; Gladstone's *Gleanings of Past Years*; Hole's *Early History of the Church Missionary Society*; *The Life and Times of Selina Countess of Huntingdon*; *The Life of William Wilberforce*; Thomas Scott the *Commentator*; *Memoirs of the Life of Mrs. Hannah More*; Charles Simeon (by Bishop Moule); *Letters and Memoirs of Bishop Shirley*; *A Sketch of the Character of a Beloved Mother* (the Duchess of Beaufort); *The Life and Letters of Elizabeth, last Duchess of Gordon*; *The Life of the Rev. William Marsh, D.D.*; *The Life of the Rev. Henry Venn Elliott*; *Annals of a Clerical Family*; *The Life of Bishop Wilberforce*; *The Life and Work of the seventh Earl of Shaftesbury*; and *Memorials* (of Lord Mount Temple).

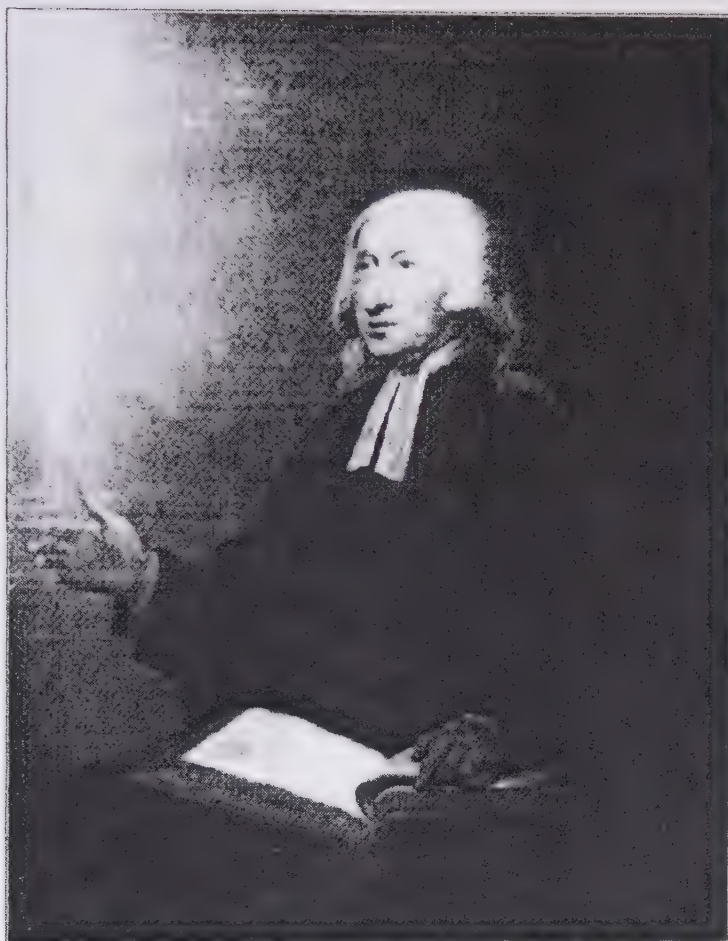
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THE REV. JOHN WESLEY.

"Never did any man, no, not S. Paul himself, possess so high a degree of power over so large a body of men, as was possessed by him."

The Evangelical Movement

CHAPTER I

ORIGINS

“SOME rivers spring from a group of pools.”¹
It is well to bear this truth in mind when we seek to trace the origin of any movement in the affairs of men. So with the case before us. The principal source of the Evangelical Movement is to be found in the life and work of John Wesley (1703-91). The genius of that extraordinary man isolates him from any section or party: he stood and stands alone. But there were at least two other “pools” of spiritual influence which contributed to the “river” of the Evangelical Movement. There were the Calvinists, of whom Selina Countess of Huntingdon (1707-91), and her chaplain, George Whitefield (1714-70), were the leaders,

¹ W. E. Gladstone.

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and who included in their number the Welsh evangelist Howel Harris (1714-73), Walter Shirley (1725-86), Thomas Haweis (1734-1820), Sir Richard Hill (1732-1808) and his brother Rowland Hill (1744-1833). There were also the more devout adherents of the traditional theology, such as Bishop Thomas Wilson (1663-1755), Dr. Johnson (1709-84), Bishop Lowth (1710-87), Bishop Horne (1730-92), Lord Dartmouth (1731-1801), Bishop Porteus (1731-1808), and Bishop Heber (1783-1826).

In some matters of great, though secondary, importance, these men were separated from each other by strong differences of opinion; but they were at one in their central and dominating conviction, that the only hope for fallen humanity is the Propitiatory Sacrifice of CHRIST on the Cross.

It was in 1736 that Bishop Butler (1692-1752) made his memorable statement about the religious condition of England. "It is come, I know not how, to be taken for granted, by many persons, that Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry; but that it is, now at length, discovered to be fictitious. And accordingly they treat it as if, in the present age, this were an agreed point among all people of discernment; and nothing remained but to set it up as a principal subject

of mirth and ridicule, as it were by way of reprisals, for its having so long interrupted the pleasures of the world." By a curious coincidence it happens that in this very year John Wesley, trained in the highest traditions of Anglican theology, began his evangelistic work as a missionary in Georgia, and George Whitefield, already a Methodist and a preacher by vocation, was admitted to the diaconate before he had reached the canonical age, and by his first sermon "drove fifteen of his hearers mad." So here we see in close proximity two of the sources of the Evangelical Movement; and the streams which flowed from them were imperceptibly, but most really, reinforced by traditional religion. Bishop Wilson, who for fifty-eight years ruled the Diocese of Sodor and Man on the lines of primitive episcopacy, published, in 1733, his *Short and Plain Instruction for the Better Understanding of the Lord's Supper*, which, in 1779, revealed to Charles Simeon (1759-1836) the doctrine of the Atonement, and gave the impulse to his whole subsequent life and his far-reaching ministry.

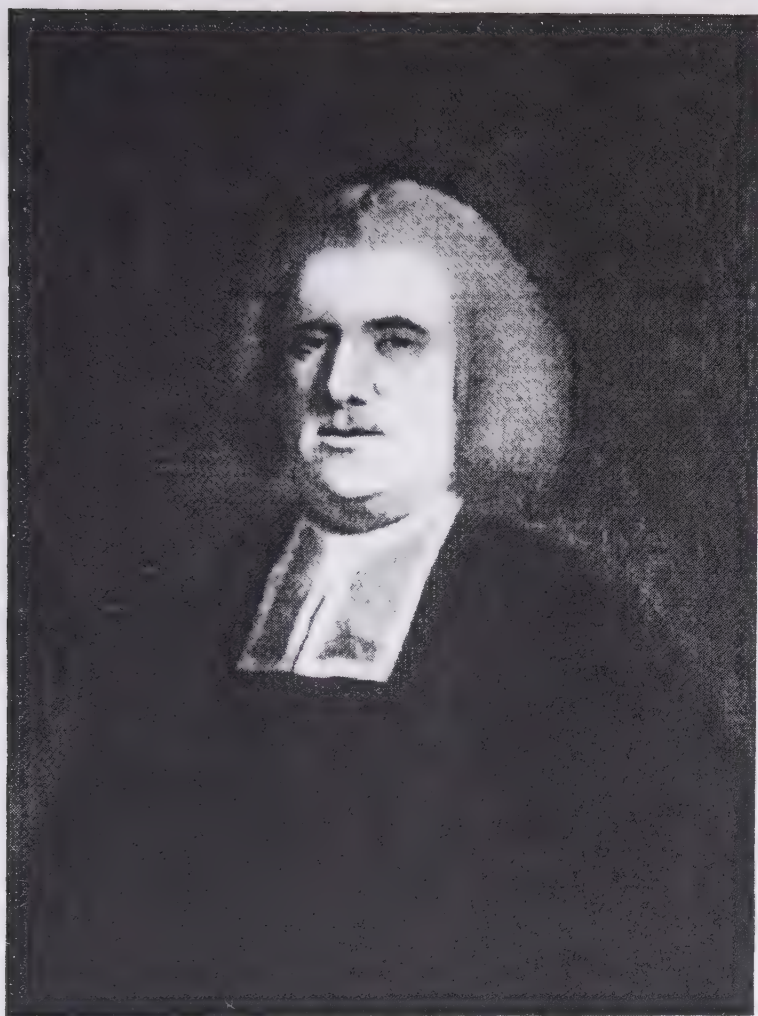
If I may press still further the image of the river, I would put the case thus. Three streams came together to make the river of the Evangelical Movement, and for a while they flowed in the same channel. Later, the

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more turbulent waters found outlets for themselves, and flowed away in different directions. After their departure, the river assumed a distinctly marked character of its own, but it was long before the traces of its threefold source were wholly obliterated.

To speak without figures—Wesley's disciples, as soon as their master was taken from their head, seceded from the Church, and perverted what he had intended for a Guild or "Society" into a schism and a sect. The more extreme followers of Whitefield, repudiating the truly Evangelical doctrine of universal redemption, which Wesley proclaimed, seceded, first from the Methodist Society, and then from the Church, forming a new sect under the title of "Lady Huntingdon's Connexion."¹ The adherents of the traditional theology did not indeed secede from the Church, but they came to perceive a difference, not of dogma but of method, between themselves and the preachers of conscious conversion and assurance; and they drifted increasingly towards

¹ In 1796 Zachary Macaulay wrote concerning some sectaries in Sierra Leone: "To Lady Huntingdon's Methodists, as a body, may with great justice be addressed the first verse of the third chapter of the Revelation. The lives of many of them are very disorderly, and rank antinomianism prevails among them."—cf. Crabbe's *Borough*, Letter IV.



THE REV. HENRY FENN.

"He was most powerful in unfolding the terrors of the Lord. When doing so he had a stern look that would make you tremble. Then he would turn off to the offers of grace, and begin to smile, and go on entreating till his eyes filled with tears."

the High Church party, to which they had originally belonged. The main body, from which these three sets of dissentients fell away, became the Evangelical school of the Church of England. It contained such men as Vincent Perronet (1693-1785), whom Charles Wesley called "the Archbishop of Methodism"; James Hervey (1714-58), a devout parish-priest and a popular though bombastic writer; William Grimshaw (1708-63), who laboured like an Apostle amid the dismal moors of Haworth; John Fletcher (1729-85), whom witnesses so diverse as Wesley and Voltaire pronounced the best man they had ever known; John Berridge (1716-93), a religious buffoon and popular preacher; William Romaine (1714-95), a grave and polished divine, who belonged in spirit to the Puritan party of the preceding century; Henry Venn (1725-97), vicar first of Huddersfield and afterwards of Yelling, whose special contribution to the Evangelical cause was his passionate insistence on the true and proper deity of the LORD JESUS;¹ Augustus

¹ Late in life, according to his biographer, Venn wrote thus: "On Saturday I dined with our bishop (John Green, Bishop of Lincoln). I find he has no objection to a revision and alteration of the Liturgy. This change will one day, I fear, take place, and then the measure of our iniquities will be full, when we have cast the doctrine of CHRIST out of the public worship."

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Montague Toplady (1740-78), who, though profoundly tainted with Calvinism, wrote the most beautiful hymn in the English language; Samuel Walker (1714-61), Rector of Truro, who evangelized the West; Sir James Stonhouse (1716-95), a baronet, a doctor, and a clergyman; Joseph Milner (1744-97), whose *Church History* is one of the most considerable works produced by the Evangelical school; and William Cowper (1731-1800), whose genius and sufferings have given him a permanent place in religious history.

The fundamental soundness of the Evangelical theology is well exhibited by Romaine in his *Treatise upon the Life of Faith*, published in 1764: "It is much to be lamented that believers in general take so little pains to get a clear knowledge of the doctrine of the ever-blessed Trinity, for want of which their faith is unsettled, and they are liable to many errors both in judgment and in practice. I would therefore most earnestly recommend it to all that are weak in faith to be diligent in hearing and reading what in Scripture is revealed concerning the Trinity in Unity, looking up always for the inward teaching of the HOLY SPIRIT; and I would direct them to a form of sound words in the Common Prayer Book for Trinity Sunday, which contains the

shortest and best account of the subject that I ever saw." ¹

Sir James Murray, in his *English Dictionary*, says that the epithet "Evangelical" was "in the eighteenth century applied to that school of Protestants which maintains that the essence of 'the Gospel' consists in the doctrine of salvation by faith in the atoning work of CHRIST, and denies that either good works or the Sacraments have any saving effect." This is, I think, a sound epitome of Evangelical teaching, but it ignores the difference between Calvinism and Arminianism. The cruel and misleading doctrine of predestination, which Calvin, misinterpreting S. Augustine, substituted for the Gospel, has been stated in the following words : "God predestined the fall of Adam

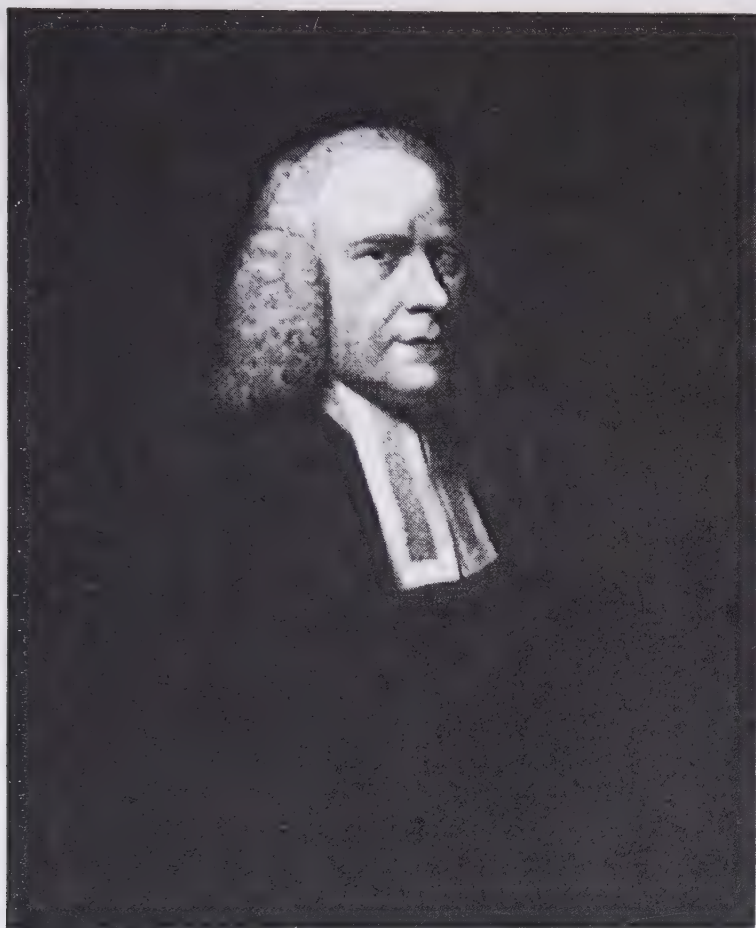
¹ The Proper Preface in the Communion Service.

Another quotation from the same treatise is worthy of reproduction. Romaine says of Christian believers, "What is their keeping the LORD's Day ? Is it not to express their belief of His being risen, and entered into His rest, and of their having, by believing, entered into rest also ? And therefore they wait upon CHRIST in the ordinances to keep them, until He bring them to His eternal Sabbath, to that rest which remaineth for the people of God.

"What is their attendance upon the LORD's Supper ? Is it not the communion of the Blood of CHRIST, and the communion of the Body of CHRIST, a real partaking by faith of His broken body, and of His precious bloodshedding, and of all the benefits of His passion ?"

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and its awful consequence of eternal death to the greater part of his posterity, who by God's decree were predestined to eternal perdition." The teaching of Whitefield and Toplady and Berridge came, at least in its unguarded moments, very near the edge of this perilous position; and, in its logical implications, it was clearly Antinomian. If a man was predestined to salvation, or predestined to damnation, his way of spending his time on earth could not matter. Here is Wesley's teaching: "Faith is the free gift of God, which He bestows, not on those who are worthy of His favour, not on such as are previously holy and so fit to be crowned with all the blessings of His goodness, but on the ungodly and unholy, who till that hour were fit only for everlasting damnation." And here is Whitefield's: "I hold that a certain number are elected for eternity, and these must and shall be saved, and the rest of mankind must and shall be damned." It was this aspect of Calvinism, as tending to disparage the Christian life, which was the ground of the sharpest contention between these two great men, and the echoes of the contention survived in the Evangelical party long after the two protagonists had passed away. Yet, when we come to look through words to things, the difference is not so great as it



THE REV. GEORGE WHITEFIELD.

*"Leuconomus (beneath well-sounding Greek
I slur a name a poet must not speak)
Stood pilloried on infamy's high stage,
And bore the pelting scorn of half an age."*

seemed. No Evangelical ever taught that salvation could be obtained by good works ; nor, on the other hand, that a man could be saved unless he forsook what he knew to be sinful. "Good works are the proofs of a saving faith" was the henotic formula ; and the hideous dogma that God had created souls for Hell was replaced by the milder belief that He had predestined some to salvation but none to damnation. Thomas Scott (1747-1821), who was esteemed a moderate Calvinist, said cautiously, "We find nowhere in Scripture so particular an account given concerning the non-elect as concerning the elect."

At this point it is well to remark that the terms "Calvinist" and "Calvinism" came in the course of time to be used in a quite misleading sense, as though they were synonymous with "Evangelical" and "Evangelicalism." Evangelical teachers, who wholly repudiated the doctrine of reprobation and insisted on the need of a holy life, were labelled, whether in ignorance or of malicious purpose, with a name which conveyed all sorts of odious associations. Bishop Horsley (1733-1806) was the staunchest of High Churchmen, but he was too good a theologian to confound Evangelicalism with Calvinism. "I wish," he said, in a Charge to his diocese, "that before men abuse Calvinism they would just take

the pains to inquire what it is.”¹ Hannah More (1745–1833) reports that, when a lady declined to take a hand at whist, another member of the party exclaimed, “Now that is what I call Calvinism !” Writing in 1808, William Wilberforce (1759–1833) says : “Some persons call you a Calvinist, and every man a Methodist who says his prayers—a stupid and provoking error, which the old Duke of Bridgewater² had the merit of making entertaining from the singular absurdity with which he always called Bishop Porteus ‘that confounded Presbyterian,’ they having had some Canal difference of interests.”

The strictly Calvinistic element departed from the Church of England when Lady Huntingdon and her friends seceded ; though, as we have already seen, a considerable amount of something like Calvinism survived in some of those who remained faithful to the Church, and was only gradually extinguished by the growth of what was called Arminianism. But

¹ The following words addressed by Horsley to the clergy of his diocese are noteworthy, as showing that High Churchmen knew how to preach the Gospel : “Apply yourselves with the whole strength and power of your minds to do the work of Evangelists. Proclaim to those who are at enmity with God, and children of wrath, the glad tidings of CHRIST’s pacification.”

² Francis, third Duke, “The father of inland navigation.”

alike to the Calvinistic and to the Arminian section of the Evangelical party Mr. Gladstone's testimony applies: "The main characteristic of the Evangelical school was a strong, systematic, outspoken, and determined reaction against the prevailing standards both of life and preaching. It aimed at bringing back, on a large scale and by an aggressive movement, the Cross, and all that the Cross essentially implies, both into the teaching of the clergy and into the lives as well of the clergy as of the laity. 'The preaching of the Gospel' became afterwards a cant phrase, but that the preaching of the Gospel a hundred years ago¹ had disappeared, not by denial but by lapse, from the majority of Anglican pulpits, is, I fear, in large measure, an historic truth. To bring it back again was the aim and work of the Evangelical reformers in the sphere of the teaching function. Whether they preached CHRIST in the best manner may be another question; but of this there is now, and can be, little question—that they preached CHRIST; they preached CHRIST largely and fervently where, as a rule, He was but little and coldly preached before. And who is there that will not say from his heart, 'I therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice'?"

The Evangelicals believed that the world, even in professedly Christian countries, was

¹ Written in 1879.

lying in darkness ; that immortal souls were daily perishing, and that it behoved every Christian, whether minister or layman, to impress upon his fellow-men the shortness of life, the certainty of Judgment, and the glad tidings of Redemption. We have seen already that salvation by faith in CHRIST was the characteristic "note" or mark of all Evangelical teaching. We shall see also that the Evangelicals, though they were quite clear that good works could not save the doer, were yet most careful to maintain them. It is also true that they "denied that the Sacraments have any saving effect" ; but it would be a grave mistake to think that they neglected the two great Sacraments of the Gospel, or belittled them as means of grace. I quote from William Wilberforce : "The LORD's Supper is the rite by which our Saviour Himself commanded His disciples to keep Him in remembrance, and the Sacrament of Baptism shadows out our souls being washed and purified by the Blood of CHRIST."

John Wesley and his brother Charles had been profound Sacramentalists, and their tradition lingered. In his *Treatise on Baptism*, published in 1756, John Wesley thus states the doctrine : "By Baptism we, who were 'by nature children of wrath,' are made children of God. And this regeneration, which our Church in so

many places ascribes to Baptism, is more than barely being admitted into the Church, though commonly connected therewith. . . . By water, then, as a means, the water of Baptism, we are regenerated or born again. Herein a principle of grace is infused, which will not be wholly taken away, unless we quench the HOLY SPIRIT of God by long-continued wickedness." James Hervey, in one generation, spoke of a dying infant as having "stayed only to wash away its native impurity in the laver of Regeneration"; and Charles Simeon, in another, interpreted "the washing of Regeneration" as meaning Baptism. The more puritanical section of the Evangelicals seem to have confused Regeneration with Conversion, and to have imagined that those who held Baptismal Regeneration held that there could be no need for any spiritual change in a man who has been baptized in infancy. Some went even further in delusion, and imagined that believers in Baptismal Regeneration ignored the need for a holy life in a baptized Christian. To put it in the abruptest form, a baptized person must be eventually saved, whatever the errors of his life and opinions. In this misconception of Baptismal teaching we may trace the effects of Predestinarian Calvinism, which, holding the indefectibility of grace and the final perseverance of all the "Regenerate," repudi-

ated a doctrine which was irreconcilable with those dogmas. But the more Churchmanlike section of the Evangelicals steered clear of these errors. They saw the difference between Regeneration and Conversion. No one was more emphatic on the absolute need of Conversion, and of a consistent life, than William Wilberforce ; but a theological discussion with Daniel Wilson and J. W. Cunningham, in which he took part, is thus reported by his son Henry : " Papa defended *most strongly* Baptismal Regeneration against the two clergymen. His ground was that we are told that no man can see God without a change of heart. We believe that infants do see God, and therefore he did not doubt that their hearts are changed at Baptism."

Cardinal Newman has left it on record that he was led to receive the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration by reading the treatise on *Apostolical Preaching Considered* of that staunch Evangelical J. B. Sumner (1780-1862), afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. This treatise was published in 1815. In his preface the writer refers to "the high tone of Calvinistic preaching, which has recently ended in a partial secession from our Established Church, with whose tenets it was justly felt to be incompatible."¹ He quotes with approval from

¹ See p. 16.

Bishop Ryder's Primary Charge : "The question of Regeneration, as far as it regards the use of the term, is in my opinion satisfactorily determined by the Articles and Offices of our Church, and by the meaning uniformly annexed to it in the four first centuries of the Christian *æra*. I would therefore wish generally to restrict the term to the baptismal privileges ; considering them as comprehending not only an external admission into the visible Church, not only a covenanted title to the pardon and grace of the Gospel, but even a degree of spiritual aid vouchsafed and ready to offer itself to our acceptance or rejection." Sumner proceeds as follows : "As an infant, regenerated by Baptism, and concerning whose salvation, if dying in infancy, our Church would authorize no doubt, may grow up to forfeit its privileges, together with its innocence ; so also might an adult 'depart from grace given,' and 'make shipwreck concerning the faith.'" He urges that baptized persons must strive that, "being *regenerate* in condition, they be also *renewed* in nature," and he thus sums up the matter : "We are instructed to declare that those who are devoted to CHRIST as infants by Baptism, are regenerate, i.e., are 'accepted of God in the Beloved,' and dying 'without actual sin, are undoubtedly saved.' And therefore we hold that those who grow

up may, or may not, fall from this state of grace ; and that those who have fallen may or may not recover, and be finally saved."

It must, however, be admitted that some of the Evangelicals did not thus understand the matter. The Bampton Lectures of 1811, by Richard Mant (1776-1848), afterwards Bishop of Down, vindicated the traditional doctrine of Baptism, and by so doing aroused a vigorous controversy in which Daniel Wilson and other Evangelicals took part.¹ It seems quite clear that their opposition to the doctrine was due to misapprehension, and that they overlooked the vital difference clearly held by the traditional school between Regeneration and Conversion. A similar confusion is perceptible in Baptist Noel's apology for secession from the Church: ² "The Church doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration paralyses the ministry even of good and earnest men. For, since Justification accompanies Regeneration, Baptismal Regeneration is Baptismal Justification ; infants, therefore, are justified as well as regenerated in Baptism ; and, since nearly the whole nation is baptized in infancy, nearly the whole nation is therefore justified in infancy by Baptism. Henceforth, therefore, they are no more dead in sin, or heirs

¹ This controversy led to some secessions from the Church, especially in the West of England.

² See p. 116.

of wrath, but ‘members of CHRIST, children of GOD, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven’: the threatenings of the Gospel are addressed to them in vain. There is nothing left to arouse them from their insensibility.”

To the other great Sacrament of the Gospel —“*The Sacrament*” as they called it—the Evangelicals showed a deep and practical devotion, though they did not speculate in Eucharistic theology. Here, again, the influence of the Wesleys was felt: John compiled two Eucharistic Manuals from the *Imitatio* and the works of Daniel Brevint (1616–95), and Charles’s Eucharistic hymns are among the most devotional in the language. This devout attitude towards the Holy Communion was not confined to the followers of Wesley. Whitefield, when on an evangelizing tour in Wales, wrote thus: “The power of God at the Sacrament was enough to make a person’s heart burn within him.” When Howel Harris was buried (in the presence of twenty thousand mourners), “the LORD’s Supper was administered, and God poured out His Spirit in a wonderful manner.” The tenth Earl of Buchan (1710–67) was an adherent of Lady Huntingdon, and, when staying at Bath for his health, he used to attend her chapel. At Bath he died, and Whitefield, describing the funeral ceremonies,

which lasted for a week, says : "On Sunday morning all attended in mourning at the early Sacrament. . . . Sacrament ended (and a blessed Sacrament it was) the noble mourners returned to good Lady Huntingdon's house, which was lent them for the day. At eleven public service began."

In the second half of the eighteenth century Celebrations were infrequent. Three a year were implied by the rubric, and a fourth, though some bishops recommended it, was seldom adopted. But, though these occasions of Communion were rare, they were valued in proportion to their rarity ; their recurrence was eagerly anticipated, and enforced absence was deeply deplored. Henry Venn (1724-97) held special services of preparation for Communion, and Legh Richmond (1772-1827) did the same. Venn introduced hymn-singing into the Communion Service, and wrote in his diary, "Every one sang. It was like Heaven on earth" ; and, recording his thankfulness for an increased number of communicants, he wrote, "My prayers have been warmly presented, that the Name of the LORD JESUS might be magnified, and that many might eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His Blood, to eternal life." William Wilberforce, writing in 1829, thus described his practice in earlier life : "For a long period



THE LOCK CHAPEL.

"The Lock Hospital stood at that period by the corner of Chapel Street, near Hyde Park Corner, and its Chapel, served by able preachers, on a site now occupied by great mansions, was attended by many of the West-End gentry and aristocracy."

(as long as I lived in the neighbourhood of the Lock,¹ or rather not far from it) I used to receive the Sacrament, which was always administered there, on New Year's Day. And the heart must be hard and cold which that sacred ordinance, in such a relation, would not soften and warm into religious sensibility and tenderness." Quickened devotion led to more frequent opportunities. Legh Richmond, in 1806, established a monthly Celebration; and Bishop Daniel Wilson (1778-1858), when Vicar of Islington, established "an early Sacrament at eight, in addition to the usual Celebration." A staunch Evangelical, Henry Hutton (1808-63), eventually Rector of S. Paul's, Covent Garden, wrote as follows on his ordination to the priesthood in 1833—on the eve, it will be observed, of the Tractarian Movement: "I hope and trust that the FATHER of mercies will give ear to our united prayers, and that He will vouchsafe to me a more abundant supply of His HOLY SPIRIT to make me more faithfully and diligently to execute the sacred office of Priest to a congregation of His people. It will be a source of

¹ The Lock Hospital, then situate on the space now occupied by 18, 19, and 20 Grosvenor Place. Its chapel was served by some eminent Evangelicals. In 1805 Wilberforce heard Legh Richmond there—"voluble and pious, but rambling."

unmixed gratification to me, if I am spared to administer the Holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Blessed Saviour to the many devout and faithful worshippers who are wont thus to approach the LORD."

While we are speaking of public worship, it may be remarked that we owe the immense boon of Hymnody in divine service to the Evangelicals. The "Olney Hymns" made their way wherever Evangelical teaching prevailed; and, being reinforced by Charles Wesley's beautiful compositions, and some selections from Tate and Brady's Version of the Psalms, they formed the nucleus of the manifold hymnals with which the English Church has been enriched. Another useful innovation of the Evangelicals was to have the Sunday Evening Service at six, instead of three in the afternoon. Such men as Legh Richmond and Daniel Wilson did much to restore the weekday services, which had gone out of fashion.¹

But it is time to return to our chronological order.

¹ The custom, now almost universal, of singing a hymn after the sermon at Evening Service was introduced by the Evangelicals. John Newton specially commended it. A favourite hymn for the occasion was the one beginning, "May the grace of CHRIST our Saviour."

CHAPTER II

THE SECOND SPRING

THE great John Wesley, whose genius was the main source of the Evangelical Movement, died in his 88th year in March, 1791. In the following June Louis XVI was arrested at Varennes. The two events have a kind of spiritual relation to one another. The religious revival, which had wrought such wonders when Wesley and Whitefield led it, had lost something of its first vigour; and large sections of society, both in its upper and in its lower strata, had relapsed into the practical heathenism from which the first Evangelicals had roused it. Writing in 1772 to Lord Dartmouth,¹ about the increase of Socinianism, John Newton said, "Surely, had not the Lord seasonably interposed by raising up what is called Methodism, the knowledge of the true

¹ William, second Earl, of whom Cowper wrote in *Truth*:
"We boast some rich ones, whom the Gospel sways,
And one who wears a coronet and prays."

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Gospel had been by this time wellnigh lost out of our land." But now a second revival was at hand; and men who lived to see that revival attributed it in large measure to revulsion from the horrors and impieties of the French Revolution in its later stages. Such was the testimony of the Right Hon. Thomas Grenville (1755-1846) and of Archbishop Howley (1766-1848). Lord Robert Seymour (1748-1831) wrote thus in his diary: "Really, I declare, 'pon my honor it's true (said Lady B. Talmash to the Dutchess of Bolton), that a great many People now go to Chapel. I saw a vaste number of Carriages at Portman Chapel last Sunday. The Dut. told her she always went to Chapel in London, and in the Country read Prayers in the Hall to her Family." Dr. Pusey wrote in 1875: "The war against worldliness, of which the terrible revolution of 1793 blew the first trumpet-notes, was carried on by all earnest men, but perhaps especially first by the pious Evangelicals, and then, simultaneously with them but by a distinct action, by the Tractarians."

The close of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth was the "second spring" of the Evangelical Movement; and the records of the time are filled with names which were honoured in their generation, and ought not now to be forgotten. A brief and



THE PARISH CHURCH OF CLAPHAM.

This Church (opened in 1776) was part of the preparation which the Fathers of the Clapham Society made for their work.

imperfect enumeration must suffice. Bishop Shute Barrington (1734-1826) represented that element of traditional theology which I have mentioned as part of the Evangelical equipment, and when he died his place was taken by Bishop Ryder (1777-1836). Sir Charles Middleton (1726-1813), created Lord Barham in 1805, was First Lord of the Admiralty at the time of Trafalgar; and Hannah More characteristically wrote of him, "What a comfort it is to have a Cabinet Minister who we know *prays* for the success of his measures." John Venn (1779-1813), son of the greater Henry Venn, was Rector of Clapham, and spiritual guide of that remarkable band of Christian philanthropists which was nicknamed "the Clapham Sect." Lord Macaulay, himself brought up at Clapham, used to point out the curious mistake made by Thackeray in *The Newcomes*, where he represents the "Clapham Sect" as Dissenters. In fact, they were staunch Church-people, as is sufficiently proved by a letter of Zachary Macaulay, written in 1799:

"I was yesterday drawn by the pressing insistence of some Clapham ladies to witness a feast given to the children of Miss Wilkinson's schools. This lady is a Baptist, and, I believe, of the Sabbatarian sort; but is rather in high esteem among our religious folks at

Clapham, who are moved by her active benevolence to recede a little from their accustomed antipathy to Dissenters. She herself is a woman of very catholic spirit ; but the following trait will show how hard it is to clear the best-intentioned mind from the leaven of bigotry. Last year she gave a feast, not only to her own scholars, but invited—as she also has done this year—the children of a Charity School of the Establishment to partake of it. But while she gave her own children beef and pudding in overflowing abundance, she would allow to the children of the Charity School only plain pudding. She avoided this fault, however, yesterday.”

The leading member of the “Clapham Sect” was Henry Thornton (1760–1815), M.P. for Southwark, and one of the founders of the Church Missionary Society and the Bible Society, who retained only one-third of his great income for himself, and spent the rest in charity.¹ With him were associated Lord Glenelg (1778–1866) and his brother Sir

¹ As the name of Thornton will often appear in this narrative, it may be convenient to distinguish those who bore it. John Thornton (1720–90), the friend of Cowper and patron of Newton, was father of Samuel (1755–1838) and of Henry (1760–1815). Henry’s daughter was Marianne, for whom see p. 98. Samuel was grandfather of Percy, sometime M.P. for Clapham (to whose help I am much indebted). Spencer (see p. 136) was a distant cousin.



HENRY THORNTON, M.P.

"For more than thirty years he was a member of the unreformed Parliament, representing there the people, so few and singular, who dare to think, and speak, and act for themselves."

Robert Grant (1779-1838); E. J. Eliot (1758-97), brother-in-law of Pitt; Lord Teignmouth (1751-1834), sometime Governor-General of India; Lord Bexley (1766-1851), sometime Chancellor of the Exchequer; "the young, the much-loved, and the much-lamented John Bowdler" (1783-1815); Zachary Macaulay (1768-1838), father of the historian, and organizer of the anti-slavery campaign; his fellow-worker Granville Sharp (1735-1813); and the great William Wilberforce (1759-1833), who must be more fully described as the narrative proceeds, though it may not be out of place here to insert the comparison which Zachary Macaulay drew between his two closest friends:

"I own, in drawing a comparison between Thornton and Wilberforce in my own mind, the former, whether justly or not I will not venture to say, has always carried away the palm. In point of talents, doubtless, there is a splendour about Wilberforce which quite eclipses the other; but then the soundness of Thornton's judgment, and the extreme considerateness and painful scrutiny with which he is accustomed to view every subject that requires his decision, serves as a counterbalance. Wilberforce's benevolence may be more ardent, and the style of his devotion more elevated and fervent; but in the practice of self-denying duties, and in the habitual enforcement of

that suggestion not to confer with flesh and blood, I must think Henry Thornton his superior. Wilberforce has stronger and more lively views of the beauties of holiness and of the Saviour's love; but Thornton has a more uniform and abiding impression of his accountableness to God for every moment of his time, and for every word he utters. Wilberforce's active love flies immediately to the relief of an object in distress, and gives almost instinctively. Thornton's consideration leads him to weigh the best mode of imparting relief so as to raise no false hopes, and to produce no future unhappiness; and to join, if possible, the interests of eternity to those of time. That both possess all the good qualities above alluded to in an eminent degree, when compared with other men, is certain; but I was only reviewing them in comparison with each other."

We turn now from laity to clergy.

John Newton (1725-1807), a converted blasphemer and slave-dealer, sometime Curate of Olney and afterwards, on John Thornton's nomination, Rector of S. Mary Woolnoth, London, was a preacher of great force.¹ Richard Cecil (1748-1810), Vicar of Chobham, was, what Newton was not, a man

¹ In 1789 Wilberforce described him as "rambling, but fervently devout."

of culture and refinement. Thomas Robinson (1749-1813) was Vicar of Leicester for thirty-five years, and, according to the testimony of Robert Hall, by his devoted zeal for the highest interests of the town "enlarged its intercourse with Heaven." Henry Martyn (1781-1812) was a missionary of the Apostolic type. Thomas Scott (1746-1821) was a spiritual son of Newton, Chaplain of the Lock Hospital, Vicar of Aston Sandford, and a diligent and copious commentator on Holy Scripture. It is interesting to recall that Cardinal Newman "almost owed his soul to him," and epitomized his teaching in two proverbs, "Holiness before Peace" and "Growth is the only evidence of Life." William Goode (1762-1816), Rector of S. Ann's, Blackfriars, was chiefly famous for his *Essays* "on the Titles of CHRIST."¹ Isaac Milner (1751-1820), the "Incomparabilis" Senior Wrangler of his year, was Professor of Mathematics at Cambridge, and Dean of Carlisle. William Howells (1778-1832) was a popular preacher at Long Acre Chapel.² Basil Woodd

¹ With reference to these *Essays* the Duchess of Beaufort wrote in 1823, "I have not in general felt that enthusiastic admiration for Goode that is expressed by all others who have read his *Essays*, which, I fear, is a proof of my want of spirituality, unless, as I hope, it may be because I have not yet got through more than a third part of the first volume."

² Cardinal Manning thought him "unintelligible." See Manning's "Life," Vol I, c. 4.

(1760-1831), minister of Bentinck Chapel, Paddington, for forty-six years, devoted his special attention to Christian Missions and religious education.

If space permitted, this list might be greatly enlarged ; but there are three careers which must be noticed in fuller detail, if we are to understand aright the "second spring" of the Evangelical Movement. They are the names of a politician, a woman, and a clergyman.

Henry Thornton lived at "Battersea Rise," on the edge of Clapham Common. When he bought the house, his friend Pitt "dismissed for a moment his budgets and his subsidies, for the amusement of planning an oval saloon, to be added to this newly purchased residence."¹

The house was destroyed in 1907.

¹ Sir James Stephen, *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*.



THE "PITT" ROOM AT CLAPHAM.

"A solitary monument of the architectural skill of that imperial mind."

CHAPTER III

THREE NOTABLE LIVES

THE Wilberforces spring from a place called Wilberforce, or Wilberfoss, in the East Riding. In the eighteenth century they were established in business at Hull, and there William Wilberforce, famous as the "Emancipator of the Negro," was born in 1759. Having inherited ample wealth, he parted with his father's business as soon as he was twenty-one, and made his choice for politics. As an undergraduate at S. John's College, Cambridge, he had been renowned for the beauty of his singing voice, and the same organ stood him in good stead when he abandoned singing for speech-making. In 1780 he was elected M.P. for Hull; and, though his body was so small and frail that "he looked as if a breath could blow him away," he was at once recognized as a power in politics. His melodious tones, his grace of gesture, and his expressive play of features made him a most

attractive speaker, whether on the hustings or in the House ; and these qualifications, added to the fact that he was the intimate friend of Pitt, seemed to mark him out for a great political career. In 1784 he was returned for Yorkshire as a staunch supporter of his friend the Prime Minister, and his political advancement seemed more than ever a certainty ; but there was a change at hand which altered his whole career. Let it be told in his own words. Down to this time his life had been "not licentious, but gay" ; and yet something was amiss.

"Often while in the full enjoyment of all that the world could bestow, my conscience told me that in the true sense of the word I was not a Christian. I laughed, I sang, I was apparently gay and happy, but the thought would steal across me, 'What madness is all this, to continue easy in a state in which a sudden call out of the world would consign me to everlasting misery, and that when eternal happiness was within my grasp !'" In brief, he underwent an old-fashioned conversion, in which John Newton bore a considerable part, and, as a result of it, he "devoted himself, for whatever might be the term of his future life, to the service of his God and Saviour." In old age he wrote as follows : "When in 1786 I first became truly in earnest, and

changed, I hope, the governing principles of my life from the desire of worldly estimation to that of pleasing God, it was reported throughout Yorkshire that I was melancholy mad, etc."

His conversion showed itself in very practical forms. He gave up card-playing, of which he had been very fond. In 1794 he wrote, after an evening party, "Declined playing at cards, but not austere." He took to early rising, and did his best to fast, but found it difficult on account of his physical frailty. "Disused pleasant food—Daniel—entire fasting does not suit my constitution." He stripped himself of luxuries. He "was able to give away, by management, a fourth of his income," and wished to give £400 or £500 a year more. He spent a great deal of his time in prayer and in the study of his Bible, and having made his first Communion on Good Friday, April 1, 1786, became a regular and most devout communicant. On April 14, 1797, he wrote in his diary: "Three o'clock, Good Friday. I thank God that I *now* do feel in some degree as I ought this day. I trust that I feel true humiliation of soul from a sense of my own extreme unworthiness; a humble hope in the favour of God in CHRIST; some emotion from the contemplation of Him Who at this very moment

was hanging on the Cross; some shame at the multiplied mercies I enjoy; some desire to devote myself to Him Who has so dearly bought me; some degree of that universal love and goodwill which the sight of CHRIST Crucified is calculated to inspire. Oh, if the contemplation *here* can produce these effects on my hard heart, what will the vision of CHRIST in glory produce hereafter?"

For a brief space he thought of abandoning politics and seeking Holy Orders, but was dissuaded from that course by John Newton, who insisted that Parliament was the appointed sphere of action for a man so conspicuously endowed with Parliamentary gifts and opportunities. He therefore returned to his work in the House of Commons with greater zeal and a more determined purpose than before; and, foreseeing the offers which his intimacy with Pitt made almost inevitable, he resolved within himself never to accept either office or a peerage. Henceforward his life was dedicated to the unrewarded service of humanity.

In 1797 he published a book which at once became famous, *A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians in the Higher and Middle Classes in the Country, contrasted with Real Christianity*. It is a grave and tender appeal to consciences deadened by conventionality. It reminds them of the great



WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, M.P.

"In an age and country fertile in great and good men, he was among the foremost of those who fixed the character of their times; because, to high and various talents, to warm benevolence, and to universal candour, he added the abiding eloquence of a Christian life."

realities of life and death, sin and repentance ; it insists that "faith, when genuine, always supposes repentance and abhorrence of sin" ; and it calls on them "gratefully to adore that undeserved goodness which has awakened them from the sleep of death, and to prostrate themselves before the Cross of CHRIST with humble penitence and deep self-abhorrence." The book from first to last is eloquent of personal experience. It won the warm admiration of Edmund Burke, then very near his end ; it led to the conversion of Legh Richmond ;¹ it ran through fifty editions, and it established its writer as the lay-leader of Evangelical religion.

Wilberforce was Evangelical in the best and highest sense. He was "no Calvinist," and "no Predestinarian," but proclaimed universal redemption. "Every year I live, I become more impressed with the unscriptural character of the Calvinistic system." He appealed throughout to "the Holy Scriptures, and, with them, the Church of England." On January 1, 1812, he wrote: "I have been detained long at Church according to a custom which I have observed for twenty-six or

¹ In September, 1809, Wilberforce wrote in his diary, "Dined at Richmond's. It is just twelve years since he became serious through reading my book on Christianity, lent him by a brother divine."

twenty-seven years, of devoting the New Year to God by public worship in a Sacrament on the 1st of January." He believed in Baptismal Regeneration, and disliked a gloomy Sunday. "I don't like to call it the Sabbath, as I do not quite consider it in the light in which it is viewed by many religious men."

In one respect at least, he was, theologically, before his time. Mr. Gladstone, brought up as an Evangelical, deplored "that stark and rigid conception of the effects of death on the state of the human being," which, reacting from the excesses of the Roman doctrine of Purgatory, had obscured the idea of the Intermediate State.¹ In 1797 Wilberforce exclaimed, on the death of his friend Eliot, "Peace be with him. May my last end be like his!" In 1813 he wrote, on the death of Lord Barham, "The immortal spirit, I doubt not, is waiting in a happy intermediate state the full consummation of its felicity." Two years later, on the death of Henry Thornton: "The question concerning the intermediate state appears to me to be set at rest . . . by our Saviour's language to the thief on the cross—'This day shalt thou be with Me in Paradise'; and if, as seems highly probable, the dis-

¹ *Gleanings*, vol. iii.

embodied spirit, besides the enjoyment of the present state, is enabled to look forward to the glory, honour, and immortality which lie before it, what an exalted conception is given to us of the prospect suddenly presented to its view !”

Wilberforce worked for all the causes which were then most unfashionable — Christian Missions, the circulation of the Bible, the suppression of vice, the mitigation of the criminal code, and popular education ; above all — and on this achievement his fame eternally rests — for the abolition of the slave-trade. The horrors of the “Middle Passage” had already been brought before public notice by Granville Sharp ; and in 1787 a group of men whose hearts were touched by divine indignation formed the first Committee for the Suppression of the Slave-Trade. Wilberforce became the Parliamentary leader of the movement, and in 1788 he induced Pitt to espouse the cause — a notable triumph of persuasive power. In 1789 Pitt moved his resolution in favour of suppression, but the moment was not propitious for humanitarian reform. France was in the throes of revolution ; men’s thoughts were fixed on the dangers which impended over England ; and all the energy of the Prime Minister’s majestic mind was absorbed in the task of safeguarding the kingdom against

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foreign and domestic foes. At such times of crisis moral causes fare badly, but Wilberforce and his friends were men not easily daunted. In 1792, in 1796, and again in 1804 they carried through the House of Commons a Bill for suppression, and in each year it was defeated in the Lords. But no disappointments and no delays could damp the ardour or slacken the efforts of the abolitionists. Throughout all those dark years Wilberforce's motto was "This one thing I do." He worked for the cause nine hours a day, scarcely stopping for his meals. Sometimes he was writing all night. He roused a spirit of intercessory prayer for his object among all his Evangelical connexion, and at the same time conducted a public agitation up and down the country. Almost the last written words of the great John Wesley were addressed to him :

" My dear Sir,—Unless the Divine Power has raised you up to be an *Athanasius contra mundum*, I see not how you can go through your glorious enterprise, in opposing that execrable villainy which is the scandal of religion, of England, and of human nature. Unless God has raised you up for this very thing you will be worn out by the opposition of men and devils ; but, if God be for you, who can be against you ? Oh, be not weary

of well-doing. Go on, in the Name of God and in the power of His might, till even American slavery, the vilest that ever saw the sun, shall vanish away before you. That He, Who has guided you from your youth up, may continue to strengthen you in this and all things, is the prayer of, dear sir, your affectionate servant,

“JOHN WESLEY.”¹

These words were written in 1791, but sixteen years of arduous fighting and diligent labour and uncomplaining endurance had to pass before the consummation of Wesley's hopes. The Act suppressing the slave-trade passed into law in 1807, and “the whole House of Commons rose to cheer the Member for Yorkshire, by whose devoted toil this great triumph of mercy had been achieved.”

Pitt said that of all the men he knew Wilberforce had the greatest power of natural eloquence. Burke said the same, though he had only known him in the early stages of his career. Lord Brougham testified to “the

¹ On February 24, 1789, Wilberforce wrote in his diary: “I called on John Wesley—a fine old fellow.” In 1786 he had received, at Hannah More's house, a solemn blessing from Charles Wesley—“I was scarcely ever more affected.”

inspiration which deep feeling alone can breathe into spoken thought." In Wilberforce the gift of persuasion was blended with a turn for sarcasm which, as a rule, was sedulously controlled; but those that heard it long remembered his reply to a scoffing opponent who had taunted him with a facetiousness not in keeping with his religious profession. "I submit that a religious man may sometimes be facetious; and I would remind the hon. member that the irreligious do not necessarily escape being dull." To these gifts he added another not less valuable to a Parliamentarian. "If there is any one," said Canning, "who thoroughly understands the tactics of debate, and knows exactly what will carry the House along with him, it is certainly my hon. friend." His high character and absolute freedom from self-seeking gave his words a moral weight more impressive than even eloquence; and, in his later years, Sydney Smith declared roundly that he "could do anything he liked with the House." Such as he was in public life, such also he was in private. Madame de Staël, after making his acquaintance, said that she had always heard that Mr. Wilberforce was the "most religious man in England," but she had never before known that he was also the most agreeable. "No one," said another admirer, "touched life at so many



HANNAH MORE.

"She was a person to live with, to converse with, and to pray with. Her powers were capable of dilating or contracting their dimensions, as occasion required. Her genius invited a near approach. It was great and commanding, but it was lovely and kind."

points." "He always," said a third, "had the charm of youth."

When once the slave-trade was suppressed, the friends of humanity determined to abolish slavery itself. After moving, in 1824, for total Abolition, Wilberforce said, "I have delivered my soul." Age and infirmity were increasing on him, and he retired from Parliament, leaving what remained of the fight to younger and stronger men. At a public meeting of his supporters in 1830 he said, "The object is bright before us; the light of heaven beams on it, and is an earnest of success." The anticipation was justified. In the session of 1833 the first Reformed Parliament passed the Act which abolished slavery, and "the father of the movement lived just long enough to bless God that the object of his life had been attained." He died on July 29, 1833, and the two Houses of Parliament followed his body to its resting-place in the Abbey.

Hannah More came of a respectable family in Norfolk, which had contributed two captains to Cromwell's army. Her father, Jacob More, was Master of a Grammar School at Stapleton, near Bristol, where she was born—the fourth of five daughters—in 1745. As a child she displayed quick intelligence and a natural interest in books, which her father fostered by teach-

ing her the elements of Latin and mathematics. She also learned, in the society of some French officers on parole, "that free and elegant use of the French language for which she was afterwards distinguished." When she grew up she took her part in teaching the pupils of a girls' school kept by her sisters at Bristol. She had a precocious fondness for using her pen, and before she was eighteen she published a pastoral drama, called *A Search after Happiness*, intended for the use of young ladies' schools. Both at Bristol and in the neighbourhood her vivacity, accomplishments, and agreeable manners secured her admission into local society.

In 1773 she visited London, and so began her entry into the great world. She became acquainted with David Garrick and his wife, under whose roof she spent twenty consecutive winters, and through them with Soame Jenyns (whose *Internal Evidence of the Christian Religion* was instrumental in the conversion of Thomas Scott), Dr. Johnson, Boswell, Bennett Langton, Beattie, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Sheridan, De Lolme, Wilkes, Paoli, Warren Hastings, Baretti, Gibbon, Edmund and Richard Burke, Horace Walpole, William Windham, Sir William Jones, and the band of "blue-stockings" who gathered round Mrs. Montagu. The accident by which she became

acquainted with Wilkes was thus narrated to Lord Macaulay : "In her early life, during one of her visits to the Garricks, she went to a bookseller's shop, and heard, while she was turning over books, a gentleman, who was in conversation with the owner of the shop, at a loss for the French word for mahogany. She came forward and supplied *acajou*, upon which the gentleman requested an introduction, and to her dismay she found her interlocutor to be the notorious John Wilkes. He was so enchanted by her ready wit that he followed her from the shop, and begged to have the honour of continuing the acquaintance." Her visits to London were annually repeated, and very soon she became the fashion, and was asked to all the great houses and smart parties in town. These social opportunities she afterwards turned to good account. Zachary Macaulay writes from Clapham in June, 1799 : "Mrs. H. More is still at the Bishop of London's, and she has a duchess a day to convert while she stays in these parts." She early became acquainted with the Duchess of Gloucester (sister-in-law of George III) and her children, the Duke of Gloucester and Princess Sophia Matilda.¹

¹ [1795.] "I paid my visit to Gloucester House yesterday. Lady Waldegrave presented me to the Duchess. We had two hours of solid, rational, religious conversation. It

London just then was not a very spiritually-minded place, yet it was through this quite mundane experience that she found her way to the fervent piety and entire devotion which marked the remainder of her life. The deaths of her friends Garrick and Johnson had a solemnizing effect on her thoughts, and she turned instinctively to the more seriously-minded members of the brilliant society in which she moved. Through Frances Boscawen, "the accomplished Mrs. Boscawen,"¹ who died in 1805, she became acquainted with Beilby Porteus, Bishop of London, and with John Newton, whose *Cardiphonia* produced a deep impression on her mind. The gentler influence of the bishop softened the strictness of Newton's theology; and Hannah, though she now began to feel a quickened

would be too little to say that the Duchess's behaviour is gracious in the extreme. She behaved to me with the affectionate familiarity of an equal; and, though I took the opportunity of saying stronger things of a religious kind than perhaps she had ever heard, she bore it better than any great person I have ever conversed with, and seemed not offended at the directness of the Gospel. . . . The Duchess presented me to Princess Sophia and Prince William. The manners of these two young personages were very agreeable. They found many kind things to say to me, and conversed with the greatest sweetness and familiarity."

¹ See Burke's *Peerage*, under "Falmouth."

interest in higher things, did not think herself constrained to part at once with the society and amusements of the world. But gradually she began to find less satisfaction in social and secular pursuits, and an increasing desire to devote her talents, which were now universally admitted, to the service of God and man. "LORD," she wrote in her journal, "I am spared, while others are cut off. Let me now dedicate myself to Thee with a more entire surrender than I have ever made." She attributed this change principally to the influence of Sir John Stonhouse. Henceforward she wielded, as Newton said, "a consecrated pen." In 1785 she acquired a little property called Cowslip Green,¹ near Bristol, and to this she retired, spending most of her year there, and shortening her periodical visits to London. She passed through a season of retirement and spiritual meditation; took stock of her life, past and future, and laid down the lines on which her energies were henceforth to be spent. In 1788 she published a book called *Thoughts on the Importance of the Manners of the Great to General Society*, and published it anonymously, because "she hoped it might be attributed to a better person, and so might

¹ In 1802 she moved to a place called Barley Wood, about a mile off.

produce a better effect." As a matter of fact, it was at first attributed to William Wilberforce, but the true authorship soon leaked out. It had a tremendous success, seven large editions being sold in five months. But she soon turned her attention from "the Great" to the humble, and issued in 1792 a very clever little volume of *Village Politics by Will Chip*, designed to counteract by plain arguments in easy, colloquial English, the spread of revolutionary literature among the English poor. The immense success of *Village Politics* set the author on writing a long series of "Cheap Repository Tracts," in which religious truth and civil duty were inculcated with persuasive force. The Government bought immense quantities of these tracts, and distributed them broadcast.

To all this literary labour she added the establishment, maintenance, and constant superintendence of day-schools and Sunday schools for the children of the poor of the Vale of Cheddar, in which neglected district she wrought a moral transformation. When she first visited it, she "saw but one Bible in all the parish, and that was used to prop a flower-pot." In all these good works she was nobly aided by her sisters, and backed by the purses of friends in the distance — Wilberforce, Porteus, and Henry

Thornton. From first to last she was a loyal Churchwoman, and all the most devout Churchmen of the day were her friends and counsellors. In 1801 she thus defended herself against a charge of "irregularity." "As to connexion with Conventicles of any kind, I never had any. Had I been irregular, should I not have gone sometimes, during my winter residence at Bath, to Lady Huntingdon's Chapel, a place of great occasional resort? Should I never have gone to some of Whitefield's or Wesley's Tabernacles in London, where I have spent a long spring for near thirty years consecutively? Should I not have strayed now and then into some Methodist meeting in the country? Yet not one of these things have I ever done." Her vogue in the religious world was at least as great as it had been in literary and fashionable circles. She was hailed as "one of the most illustrious females that ever was in the world," and "one of the most truly evangelical writers of any age not apostolical." Bishop Porteus said of one of her tracts, "Here you have Bishop Butler's *Analogy* for a halfpenny." Dr. Mansel, Bishop of Bristol and Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, "coveted her correspondence," and Zachary Macaulay expressed a pious hope that "it might tend, poor man, to quicken him in his spiritual course." When Bishop Shute

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Barrington was trying to promote Sunday schools in the Diocese of Durham, he applied to Hannah More for counsel, and William Wilberforce wrote, "I believe it would be right for you to pay a visit to the Prince Bishop. Go, then, to Auckland, and may the good God go with you. I am convinced that, on many accounts, you would be able to do far more than myself, or any other living person, with this primary planet, which is surrounded with satellites."

In 1805 she published *Cælebs in Search of a Wife*, a really witty satire on the foibles of irreligious society. The first edition was sold off in a day, and thirty more editions before the author died. Other books followed one another in quick succession. She lived a life of incessant activity, and, though her strength began to fail, her pen never flagged. It was while she was residing at Barley Wood that she gave a copy of her *Sacred Dramas* to a boy called William Ewart Gladstone, saying, "You have just come into the world, and I am just going out of it." She left Barley Wood in 1827, and established herself at Clifton, where she died on September 7, 1833.

Charles Simeon (1759-1836), son of Richard Simeon and nephew of Sir John Simeon, M.P., of Reading, was born in 1759. He was



THE REV. CHARLES SIMEON.

"He venerated order and authority; but he always also believed, and said with living conviction, that the supreme religious necessity is that the individual should know God in Christ."

educated at Eton, where he was a peculiarly active boy, who could “jump over half a dozen chairs in succession, and snuff a candle with his feet”; and he grew up to be a remarkably good horseman. In after years he said, in the self-accusing manner of the saints, that his conduct at school had been deplorable; but no worse faults were remembered by his school-fellows than extravagance and hot temper. In 1776 a National Fast-day was proclaimed, as an act of self-abasement before God for national sins. Simeon was deeply moved by the call, applied it to his own case, and “accordingly spent the day in fasting and prayer.” One of his schoolfellows recorded that he “became peculiarly strict from that period.” In 1779 he entered King’s College, Cambridge, where, as at other colleges, the rule was that every undergraduate must communicate in the chapel. “The thought rushed into my mind that Satan himself was as fit to attend as I; and that, if I must attend, I must *prepare* for attendance there. Without a moment’s loss of time, I bought *The Whole Duty of Man*, the only religious book that I had ever heard of, and began to read it with great diligence; at the same time calling my ways to remembrance, and crying to God for mercy; and so earnest was I in these exercises that within three weeks I made myself quite ill with reading,

fasting, and prayer." The appointed day arrived and the Communion was duly made ; but it brought no peace to Simeon's troubled soul. He knew that on Easter Day he must communicate again, and he "continued with unabated earnestness to search out and mourn over the numberless iniquities of my former life ; and so greatly was my mind oppressed with the weight of them, that I frequently looked upon the dogs with envy, wishing, if it were possible, that I could be blessed with their mortality, and they be cursed with my immortality in my stead." These spiritual agonies went on till the beginning of Holy Week, or, as it was then called, Passion Week ; and then, when reading Bishop Wilson's *Short and Plain Instruction for the better understanding of the Lord's Supper*, Simeon came upon a passage in which the ritual of the sin-offering is interpreted as signifying the Atonement. Then, quite suddenly, "the thought came into my mind, What, may I transfer all my guilt to another ? Has God provided an Offering for me, that I may lay my sins on His head ? Then, God willing, I will not bear them on my soul one moment longer. . . . From that hour peace flowed in rich abundance into my soul ; and at the LORD's Table in our chapel I had the sweetest access to God through my blessed Saviour."

The practical effects of this conversion immediately became visible. Simeon had been a conspicuous dandy, and had spent a great deal on his dress ; now he "practised the most rigid economy, consecrating a stated part of my income to the LORD, together with all that I could save out of the part reserved for my own use." He gathered some of the college servants in his rooms for a simple service, at which he read "a good book" and some of the prayers of the Church. He began a life of devotional seclusion, and recorded its incidents day by day in his journal, thus : "Monday in Passion Week [1780]. I have determined that I will neither eat nor drink all this week, except at dinner, and that sparingly."

Simeon had brought from Eton an adequate amount of Latin scholarship, but less Greek. The dubious privilege of King's prevented him from entering for any public examination, and he was elected Fellow of his college in January, 1782. He was ordained deacon in Ely Cathedral, on Trinity Sunday, May 26, 1782, being four months under the canonical age. He graduated B.A., in January, 1783. He attached himself as honorary curate to S. Edward's Church, Cambridge, where he preached his first sermon on June 2, 1782. The effect of his preaching was immediate and remarkable. The church was filled to

overflowing, and the communicants were trebled. The fame of the young preacher went abroad, and in the autumn of 1782 he was appointed to the incumbency of Trinity Church, "which stands in the heart of Cambridge." As the post was technically only a curacy-in-charge held for the bishop, the fact that Simeon was only a deacon was no bar to his appointment. He was ordained priest at Trinity, 1783. Henry Venn, whose living of Yelling was some thirteen miles from Cambridge, wrote him these words of encouragement: "Thou art called to be a man of war from thy youth. May the Captain of our salvation be thy guide, shield, and strength." Simeon needed all the encouragement he could get, for his appointment was extremely unpopular with his parishioners, who had wished for another minister. But by degrees his energy and spiritual power made their mark. He gathered together the more devout members of his congregation in a "society" or, as it would now be called, a "guild," for devotional exercises and parochial work. He was sedulous in teaching and catechizing. He prepared the young most carefully for Confirmation, then so often neglected or profaned. Allying himself with Henry Venn, he often went "itinerating" in neglected villages, preaching the Gospel in barns and other unlicensed

places. But, though he was a most zealous parish-priest, it was within the University that his influence was most powerfully felt. The undergraduates gathered round him in ever-increasing numbers, and drank in from his lips the Gospel of free Redemption through the Blood of CHRIST. He himself thus described the threefold object of all his preaching : "To humble the sinner, to exalt the Saviour, to promote holiness." As the third object shows, there was nothing Antinomian in his teaching.

But, though the young men heard him gladly, he was persistently opposed by the seniors in Cambridge, and insulted, vilified, and even threatened by the godless mob, who took their tone from their superiors. One incident of that rough time must be given in his own words : "When I was an object of much contempt and derision in the University, I strolled forth one day, buffeted and afflicted, with my little Testament in my hand. I prayed earnestly to my God that He would comfort me with some cordial from His Word, and that, on opening the book, I might find some text which should sustain me. . . . The first text which caught my eye was this : '*They found a man of Cyrene, Simon by name ; him they compelled to bear His cross.*' You know Simon is the same name as Simeon. What a world of instruction was here. What a blessed

hint for my encouragement! To have the Cross laid upon me, that I might bear it after Jesus. What a privilege! It was enough. Now I could leap and sing for joy as one whom Jesus was honouring with a participation of His sufferings."

For some ten years this storm of opposition lasted, and then gradually died down. The senior part of the University became tolerant and even cordial. The undergraduates had never failed in their loyalty to him; and he drew successive generations closer and closer to himself, not merely by his preaching, but by social intercourse. From first to last he lived in rooms at King's, and there he used to assemble his undergraduate friends. Religious instruction formed the staple of the entertainment; questions on religious topics were invited, and the answers given with all possible earnestness, though flippant or foolish queries were promptly rebuked. On Friday evenings he always gave "open tea-parties," to which men could come without invitation, and he constantly lectured on the art of preparing sermons and the various difficulties of the ministerial office. Macaulay, whose undergraduate days coincided with those of Simeon's ascendancy, wrote: "If you knew what his authority and influence were, and how they extended from Cambridge to the most remote corners of

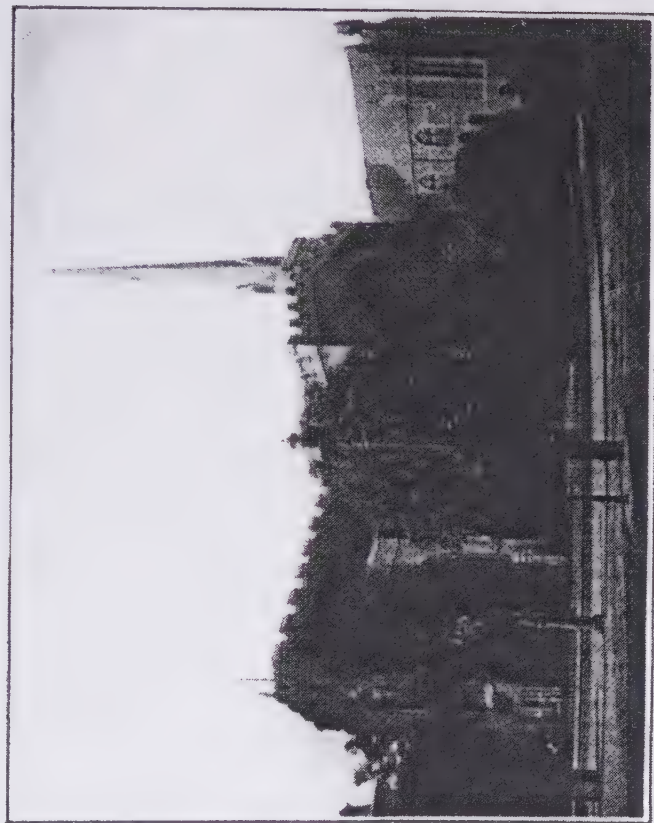
England, you would allow that his real sway over the Church was far greater than that of any primate."

Simeon was fundamentally and essentially an Evangelical of the Evangelicals, but not less distinctly a loyal son of the Church of England. He exalted the Christian ministry. He taught a doctrine not distinguishable from Baptismal Regeneration. He had a pious devotion to the Holy Communion. He felt a lively admiration for the Prayer Book, and found it conducive to the most exalted devotion. Mr. Gladstone, reviewing the religious history of the time, said, "There can hardly be a question that the Evangelical teaching with respect to the Church and the Sacraments fell below the standard of the Prayer Book, or the Articles, or both. Indeed, an ingenuous confession to this effect is to be found in the lectures of Mr. Simeon." The fault which Simeon saw in some of his brother-Evangelicals he was himself most careful to avoid. Indeed, his determined Churchmanship gave annoyance to some of his followers, who said that "Mr. Simeon was more of a *Church-man* than a *Gospel-man*." His own formula was, "The Bible first, the Prayer Book next, and all other books and doings in subordination to both." He may fairly be regarded as the last of the Evangelicals, as they were before what they

esteemed the erroneous tendencies of the Oxford Movement converted them into Low Churchmen and controversialists.

He died after a short illness (contracted through his determination to pay his respects in person to the newly-appointed Bishop of Ely) on November 12, 1836. He was buried under the Chapel of King's College, which had been his home for fifty-eight years.

All through life he had practised a systematic benevolence, and all that was left of his fortune—£5,000—he bequeathed to the trust which he had created for buying advowsons. His published sermons—*Horae Homileticae*—ran to seventeen volumes.



TRINITY CHURCH, CAMBRIDGE.

"Trinity Church stands in Market Street, a few paces east of the Market Place, from which its modest spire is seen above the houses. The tower and porch date from the thirteenth century, the nave from the fifteenth, and the manuscripts and north aisle from the sixteenth."

CHAPTER IV

THE CLIMAX

THE period covered by these three remarkable lives witnessed a great and gracious change in the national temper. In 1802 Bishop Porteus, when publishing some lectures which he had delivered in four successive Lents at S. James's, Piccadilly,¹ said in his preface that they had been delivered because "the state of the kingdom, political, moral, and religious, was so unfavourable as to excite the most serious alarm in every mind of reflection." Yet during those very years there was an extraordinary outbreak of what may be called aggressive Christianity. The Church Missionary Society² and the Religious Tract Society were founded in 1799. The British and Foreign Bible Society was founded in 1804, the British and Foreign School Society in 1807, the London Society for promoting Christianity among the

¹ In 1798 Wilberforce wrote : "The bishop preaching every Friday in Lent. Crowds to hear him ; fine people and gentlemen standing all the time."

² See Appendix.

Jews in 1809, and the National Society for the Education of the Poor in 1811. The essential orthodoxy of the Evangelicals is well evinced by the following letter of Zachary Macaulay in 1804 on Lancaster's Undenominational system of education: "There is something very plausible in Mr. Lancaster's proposal of a society established on general Christian principles; but who shall fix those general principles of Christianity which, as essential verities, must be made the basis of a system of instruction? By 'general Christian principles' Mr. Lancaster has left room to conjecture that he may have meant something which might coalesce as well with Deism as with Christianity. What right have those to be considered Christians who deem it unnecessary to introduce into their plans of education any reference to the salvation purchased for us by the Blood of CHRIST?" In 1797 Hannah More had written about a similar attempt at Bristol: "I fear in this accommodating and comprehensive plan Christianity slips through their fingers."

In divers places and by sundry means Christian life was quickened into activity. J. B. Sumner, writing in 1815, said: "We acknowledge, with lively gratitude, that religion has a much stronger hold on the affections of the English nation now than it

could be said to possess before the disputes which originated in the active zeal of Wesley and Whitefield. Their enthusiastic pretensions applied a stimulus to men's minds, and their mixture of truth with error excited a general inquiry, which broke the calm and interrupted the dangerous repose." In 1817 Robert Southey (1744-1843) wrote to a friend, "Unless I deceive myself, the state of religion in these kingdoms is better at this time than it has been at any time since the first fervour of the Reformation. Knowledge is reviving as well as zeal, and zeal is taking the best direction." Ten years later, William Wilberforce, looking back upon Yorkshire as he had known it forty years before, professed himself "highly gratified with the opening prospects and with the highly improved state of the clergy, especially in the East and West Ridings." In 1825 Hannah More wrote thus: "It is a singular satisfaction to me that I have lived to see such an increase of genuine religion among the higher classes of society. Mr. Wilberforce and I agree that, where we knew one instance thirty years ago, there are now a dozen or more. 'It is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.'"

As to the human agency through which this change was wrought, interesting testimony was borne by Dr. Pusey (1800-82), in whose

biography we read : "The deepest and most fervid religion in England during the first three decades of the nineteenth century was that of the Evangelicals ; and, to the last day of his life, Pusey retained that 'love of the Evangelicals' to which he often adverted, and which was roused by their efforts to make religion a living power in a cold and gloomy age."

It is to be remarked, as illustrating the intrinsic force of this spiritual revival, that the men who had the chief hand in promoting it were neither numerous nor highly placed. Mr. Gladstone, who was brought up in the Evangelical circle, thus writes of the period between 1820 and 1830 : "I apprehend that until the close of the reign of George III the Evangelical clergy were a small and, it might even be said, a numerically inconsiderable, minority of the whole clerical body. In an attempt to estimate their strength, precision is not attainable ; but I believe it would be within the mark to say that they did not exceed one in twenty, if they touched that proportion. . . . Among the beneficed clergy, whether of town or country, the Evangelical teachers were thinly scattered. They increased, however, pretty rapidly in numbers ; and I think the entire body was roughly estimated, before the close of the reign of George IV, at fifteen hundred, or about one-eighth of the whole clergy."

Small in numbers though abundant in energy, the Evangelical clergy of the period which we are now considering were not reinforced by the influence which belongs to high office. There were two Evangelical brothers who became bishops, but their activities belong to a rather later period. C. R. Sumner (1790–1874) was made Bishop of Llandaff in 1826 and of Winchester in 1827. His brother, J. B. Sumner (1780–1862), was made Bishop of Chester in 1825, and Archbishop of Canterbury in 1848. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century the only bishop who could be called an Evangelical was Henry Ryder (1777–1836), who became Bishop of Gloucester in 1815 and was translated to Lichfield in 1824.¹ “Any deans, canons, or heads of houses of that epoch, who were held to wear the same colours, might readily be counted on the fingers.”

What were the means by which the Evangelical party, weak in numbers and not conspicuous by official station, made its way in England? Partly by its religious societies,

¹ After Bishop Ryder's Visitation at Derby in 1824 the Rev. W. A. Shirley wrote thus of “our apostolical bishop”: “The Charge was chiefly on the peculiar excellence of the Church of England, which he stated to consist in a happy union of peace and truth, opening the middle path for those great subjects which have so often disturbed the harmony of the Church.”

60 THE EVANGELICAL MOVEMENT

already mentioned, which were so organized as to carry the Evangelical view of religion into every corner of the country : partly by the help of leading laymen, such as the Prime Minister Spencer Perceval, Lord Bristol, Lord Calthorpe, Lord Rayleigh, Lord Gambier, Lord Harrowby, Sir Thomas Acland, Sir Fowell Buxton, Abel Smith, Henry Hoare, Thomas Babington, William Carus-Wilson, J. S. Harford, and William Wilberforce. To these may be added some wealthy clergymen such as Thomas Gisborne, Lewis Way,¹ and T. R. Kemp, owner of Kemp Town, Brighton, who was at one time a Member of Parliament and at another a Dissenting minister. A very effective way of using wealth in the propagation of Evangelicalism was the formation of Trusts for the purchase of advowsons, and the "Simeon Trustees" are a power in the Church even unto this day.

Great also was the influence of "devout and honourable women," such as Lady Huntingdon, Lady Waldegrave, Lady Glenorchy, Lady Anne Erskine, Lady Mary Fitzgerald,² Lady

¹ Way was specially devoted to the Conversion of the Jews ; cf. Macaulay's *Life*, I, c. i.

² Sister of the second Earl of Bristol. Born 1725 ; burnt to death, 1815. She exercised great influence on the youth of Walter Augustus Shirley, afterwards Bishop of Sodor and Man.



THE COUNTESS OF HUNTINGDON.

"Her ladyship erected, or possessed herself of, chapels in various parts of the kingdom, in which she appointed such persons to officiate as ministers as she thought fit."

Euphemia Stewart, Lady Caroline Egerton, and Lady Cremorne, in one generation ; and Charlotte Sophia Duchess of Beaufort, Elizabeth Duchess of Gordon, Lady Barham, Lady Gainsborough, Lady Mandeville, Lady Powerscourt, Lady Southampton, Lady Olivia Sparrow, Lady Elizabeth Whitbread, Lady Catherine Graham, Lady Emma Pennant, Lady Lucy Whitmore, and Mrs. Wall (born Harriet Baring), in the next. With regard to the Duchess of Beaufort (who died in 1854), Lord Shaftesbury wrote : "At eighty-four years of age, and with such hope—nay, assurance—of a blessed eternity, who can weep for her departure ? She has run a remarkable course ; she fought a good fight ; she kept the faith. Called by God to be His instrument for the revival of the truth in the upper classes of society, she became 'a mother in Israel.' " Mr. Gladstone bore the following tribute to the duchess's character : "It is hard to recollect a case in which so many circumstances have concurred to make the aspect of the last enemy almost soft and genial. . . . Her life and conversation, like her very bodily appearance, were a blessed and holy picture, which I fondly trust will never fade from my memory." ¹

¹ In July, 1826, the Duchess of Beaufort wrote of the services of the Lock Chapel : "Dr. Thorpe surpassed himself in both his morning and evening sermons, particularly

62 THE EVANGELICAL MOVEMENT

In 1833 the Duchess of Gordon wrote thus from Gordon Castle : " I think I told you of my desire to have an Episcopal Chapel here, together with an infant school-house, as the most apparent way of opposing the increase of Popery. . . . I took up to London a gold vase that cost about £1,200, in hopes of selling it. . . . The Duchess of Beaufort, hearing of my vase, thought of her diamond earrings, which she got me to dispose of for a Chapel in Wales."

Then, again, the Evangelicals relied a great deal on the press ; they were indefatigable in pamphleteering, they scattered tracts like autumn leaves,¹ and they maintained both weekly and monthly journals. The *Evangelical Magazine* was started in 1793, the *Christian Observer* in 1802, and the *Record* in 1828. The *Christian Observer* was edited by Zachary Macaulay, and his contributors included all the ablest writers on the Evangelical side, besides Bishop Heber (1783-1826) and Bishop Burgess (1756-1837), who, though friendly to the Evangelical party, did not belong to it. The tone of the magazine

in the latter. Then we received the blessed Sacrament among the people of God. The hymns were very nice." Again, in 1830, after a long illness (in which she had communicated privately)—" I have been to church, and have again received the blessed Sacrament *in the Sanctuary*, after being denied *that* privilege for fifteen months."

¹ When the Duchess of Beaufort travelled, " the tract-basket " was a regular part of her equipment.

may be inferred from the following statement made by the editor in 1806: "On one side it is attacked as Calvinistic, while even our ally Scott stigmatizes it as Arminian. The Dissenters make a violent clamour against it as being High Church, while the High Church party abuse it as being favourable to the Methodists. The sale, however, is prospering."

But all these means of diffusing Evangelical principles were only ancillary to two greater powers—the ministry of preaching, and a consecrated life. The Evangelicals were inexhaustible preachers. It was they who introduced the second sermon on Sunday. Henry Venn, speaking of his clerical neighbours at Yelling, said: "My name is sufficient to disgust them; and, if not, the preaching twice of a Sabbath is." Whitefield preached "one sermon a day, and three on Sunday." Two sermons every Sunday, and a "lecture" on one of the weekdays, were the least with which an Evangelical congregation would be content. Richard Conyers (1725–86), when Rector of Deptford, gave "four week-night lectures in a converted coachhouse." When Henry Venn was curate of Clapham (under the Rev. Sir John Stonhouse), "his duties consisted of a full service at Clapham on Sunday morning; a sermon in the afternoon at S. Alban's, Wood Street; and one in the evening

man!) preached an admirable sermon from 1 Corinthians i. 30. He was fifty minutes." Edward Bickersteth once preached for an hour and three-quarters at the Anniversary Service of the Church Missionary Society.

Shorter addresses were obtruded at odd times. Martha More, writing to her sister Hannah, thus describes the funeral of a friend: "When we came to the outer gate of the churchyard, where all the people used to wait to pay their duty to her by bows and curtsies, we were obliged to halt for Mr. Boak to go in and get his surplice on, to receive the corpse with the usual texts. . . . On our entrance into the church, Mr. Boak gave us a discourse of thirty-five minutes *entirely* upon the subject. . . . He was very tender in his address to the children, exceedingly solemn in that to the young men and women, and concluded with a fervent and suitable prayer. When we drew near the grave, and the last solemn rite was performed, every one threw in their nosegays. I was almost choked."

But the power of preaching, even though exercised Sunday and weekday, in season and out of season, would not have produced the deep and enduring change which we refer to the Evangelical Movement, if it had not been backed by the testimony of consecrated lives. The standard of personal devotion among the

Evangelical leaders, whether labelled Calvinist or Arminian, was very high. We have seen already their zeal for the public ordinances of religion, and their habits of private devotion were even more strenuous. Early rising, and long hours spent in private prayer before breakfast, were inseparable parts of their lives. "John Thornton generally attended public worship at some church or Episcopalian chapel several evenings in the week, and would often sit up to a late hour in his own study at the top of the house, engaged in religious exercises." The gift of extempore prayer was encouraged in private gatherings, and was held to have played a great part in securing the passage of Wilberforce's *Emancipating Bill*.

Family Prayer was an institution on which the Evangelicals laid great stress. We learn from the memoirs of the Duchess of Beaufort, and of the Duchess of Gordon (who died in 1864), the steps by which this practice was introduced. Of the Duchess of Beaufort, her daughter wrote: "In the autumn of 1818 mamma first began to have Family Prayers of a morning in her room with her maids and ourselves. . . . Afterwards she made arrangements for Family Prayers, including men servants as well as female servants, for evening as well as morning prayers. On Sunday morning she used not to read a

commentary but a hymn, and I particularly remember the hymn for Sunday morning by Lady Lucy Whitmore, which she constantly read in a peculiarly impressive manner. About the same time she also began reading a sermon on Sunday afternoon to the household. . . . She used also 'Jenks's Family Prayers.'" "Jenks" I take to be Benjamin Jenks (1646-1724), Rector of Harley. Bishop W. A. Shirley (1797-1847) preferred extempore prayers, but "where there is not this faculty," he recommended a book "by Mr. Jenks, edited by Simeon, which is almost a *cento* of the liturgy of our Church"; and he mentioned also books of prayers by William Wilberforce, Henry Thornton, and Bishop Blomfield.

Sir Gilbert Scott (1811-78), R.A., grandson of Thomas Scott the Commentator, wrote thus of his early recollections: "Family Prayers at Aston Sandford were formidable, particularly to a child. They lasted a full hour, several persons from the village usually attending."

The Duchess of Gordon (last of that name, and daughter-in-law to the very dissimilar "Duchess Jane," who raised the Gordon Highlanders), as soon as she thought seriously of religion, "began to have morning prayers with her maids. . . . Such a commencement of the day was a novelty in the house. It encountered aversion and various

difficulties in the household for a time, but they were all overcome by decision and steady perseverance in the path of duty." At first she read such prayers and sermons as she thought edifying; but, in later years, "she prayed without a form; and the prayers were characterized by unction, fluency, and power." One day the duke, entering the room where the duchess was thus engaged, "gave a good-natured shrug, and withdrew"; but subsequently he became a regular attendant, and "in case of necessity, read the Family Prayers." This was announced by the duchess as a domestic triumph.

Another characteristic of Evangelical piety was the restoration of Grace before meat; though Zachary Macaulay censured those who gave thanks ostentatiously in a mixed company. It is noteworthy that H. V. Elliott declined to say grace after meat, on the ground that our LORD is not recorded to have done so; for this scruple illustrates the Evangelical habit of referring the minutest details of conduct to the standard of the Bible. There was no attempt to shirk its severer requirements. Fasting was, at any rate for the earlier Evangelicals, a regular part of Christian discipline. We have seen it mentioned in the cases of Wilberforce and Simeon, and Henry Venn, after reviewing his practice in this respect, wrote: "I have come to a



THE DUCHESS OF GORDON.

"In Gordon Castle 'the world and the fashion thereof' were disowned by her from the first ; and, as one distinctive token, there were no balls there during the nine years of her residence'

compromise, which is that on Fridays I shall not breakfast, but shall eat some dinner." Bishop Shirley wrote thus about fasting: "I am convinced that we have erred as a Church, in neglecting the important duty of seeking God in this way ; and I believe that, if all were individually to make more frequent use of this means of grace, we should experience much benefit from the practice."

With prayer and fasting went almsgiving, which the Evangelicals practised on the largest scale, as we have seen in the case of Henry Thornton. They carried liberality to the edge of imprudence, if not beyond it ; and William Wilberforce, before he died, had divested himself of his whole fortune, and left his children only what his son Samuel called "the perilous inheritance of a name which the Christian world venerates."

The Evangelicals regarded it as a solemn duty to reserve Sunday for strictly religious uses. One of the first signs of Hannah More's retirement from the world was her refusal to attend "Sunday assemblies," and among the last acts of Bishop Porteus were a protest against Sunday Concerts and a personal appeal to the Prince of Wales against a club which met on Sunday. Wilberforce was so unwilling to travel on Sunday that he induced Pitt to make Tuesday, instead of Monday, the usual

day for beginning a new Session of Parliament; according to his son, Bishop Samuel Wilberforce (1805-73), he held "the spiritual character of Sunday—the entering into that spiritual character being signally blessed to any one, and a mark of growing spirituality, etc.—but the non-*sabbatical* character of it." Yet, for all that, the word "Sabbath" made its way into Evangelical phraseology, and "Sabbath-breaking" stood high in the Evangelical list of sins.

Another characteristic feature of the Evangelicals was their absolute repudiation of the Theatre and all its works and ways. Here it is possible that a High Church tradition, emanating from Jeremy Collier, mingled with that Puritan horror of the stage, for which the comic dramatists of the Restoration had given such abundant cause. Reviewing Hannah More's *Cælebs* in 1809, Sydney Smith writes thus about the Evangelicals :

"They not only stay away from the comedies of Congreve and Farquhar, for which they may easily enough be forgiven, but they never go to see Mrs. Siddons in *The Gamester* or in *Jane Shore* . . . And yet why? Where is every feeling more roused in favour of virtue than at a good play? Where is goodness so feelingly, so enthusiastically learnt? What so solemn as to see the excellent passions of

the human heart called forth by a great actor, animated by a great part? to hear Siddons repeat what Shakespeare wrote !”

But Shakespeare and Congreve were all one to the Evangelicals, and Sarah Siddons was no better than Peg Woffington. They did not attempt to prove their case ; but they believed the Playhouse to be a place of pollution, and avoided it accordingly. Hannah More in early life had written plays, some of which were successfully produced on the London stage. After her conversion she declined to see even her own plays acted ; and, when she consented to reprint them in her collected works, she introduced them with a preface in which they were held up as warnings : “ I would coolly and respectfully address a few words to those more worthy and conscientious persons, who would not perhaps so early and incautiously expose their youthful offspring to the temptations of this amusement if they themselves could be brought to see and feel the existence of their dangers. The question, which with great deference I would propose, is not whether those who risk everything may not risk this also, but whether the more correct and considerate Christian might not find it worth while to consider whether the amusement in question be entirely compatible with his avowed character ? whether

it be altogether consistent with the clearer views of one who professes to live in the sure and certain hope of that immortality which is brought to life by the Gospel?"

Wilberforce put the case still more strongly: "If there were anything of that sensibility for the honour of God, and of that zeal for His service, which we show in behalf of our earthly friends or of our political connexions, should we seek our pleasure in that place which the debauchee inflamed with wine, or bent on the gratification of other licentious appetites, finds most congenial to his state and temper of mind?" And yet again, "Where anything is directly contrary to the laws of God, then we ought to resist as stubbornly as possible, and the play-house seems to me to fall under this description. . . . But there are other diversions of a more dubious nature—balls, concerts, cards, etc. It is impossible here to judge for another."

Reference has been already made to Charlotte Sophia Duchess of Beaufort.¹ About the year 1814 she fell under Evangelical influences, which reached her through the writings of Cecil and Newton, and the ministry of Bishop Ryder. She also owed much to the friendship

¹ Daughter of the first Marquess of Stafford. Born in 1771; married, in 1791, the sixth Duke of Beaufort; died in 1854.



THE 'DUCHESS OF BEAUFORT'.

"She has indeed been 'a burning and a shining light' in high places for many years, and the walk of few on earth has been as consistent as hers. May we and all dear to us have grace given us to walk as she walked, live as she lived, and die as she died."

of William Wilberforce, with regard to whom she said, "I certainly feel for him an affection that even surprises myself, and which always mixes itself with my anticipations of the happiness of a better world." In 1822 the death of a young son deepened her religious impressions, and, after much consultation with Daniel Wilson and Charles Simeon, she determined to "come out from the world, and be separate." Her biographer thus records the process: "The decision she came to was this—in things sinful in themselves, such as theatres and races, to request the duke to excuse the attendance of herself and their daughters; but, as to balls, etc., she and they were ready to go whenever he wished it, though they would feel very grateful to be exempted from attending them. Very soon the duke acquiesced in her wishes—it was painful to him to urge her and his daughters to do what they from principle did not like, and, except to meet any of the Royal Family, he did not expect them to go out"—a surprising exception when George IV was on the throne and the Dukes of Clarence and Cumberland adorned society.

So much for the theatre. Dancing fell under a similar ban. The "endearing Waltz," when it was a novelty, had astonished even Byron, but the stately minuets and quadrilles which then formed the staple of a ball were as rigidly

eschewed. Evangelical heads of ladies' schools declined to teach their pupils so dangerous an accomplishment as dancing.¹ William Marsh (1775-1864) wrote thus to his daughter about some schoolfellows of hers who longed for balls and theatres: "The young friends who have conversed with you have as yet known nothing of the importance of vital religion. Nor are they aware that, as the hours and atmosphere of those places of amusement are injurious to health, so their tendency is equally unfavourable to Christian morals. An inspired Apostle has said, 'She who liveth in pleasure is dead while she liveth.'"

Another amusement which the Evangelicals banned was card-playing; and, just as they took no distinction between a good play and a bad, or between an indecent and a decent dance, so they equally condemned a round game for "love," and a rubber at gamblers' points. Cards were labelled "the Devil's

¹ "In the earlier part of the nineteenth century Campden House, Kensington, was a fashionable finishing school, in high repute, especially for its elegant dancers, the professor of the art receiving a salary of £600 a year. Mrs. Teed, from conscientious feeling, gave up the dancing, probably that she might not be responsible in preparing her pupils for scenes of worldly gaiety and dissipation. At first this was a severe shock to the school, and many of the pupils were withdrawn. It then became the resort of the children of Christian parents."—*Sunday at Home*, 1863.

Prayer Book," and no good Christian could touch them. Even before she had renounced the world, Hannah More wrote with reference to an evening party in London: "None but people of the very first rank were there, so you may conclude the diversion was cards, and in one night the enormous sum of sixty thousand pounds was lost. Heaven reform us! . . . What a comfort for me that none of my friends play at cards." Wilberforce took, as usual, a more lenient view. On April 6, 1819, he wrote: "Dined at the Duke of Gloucester's. I felt awkward about cards, though I declared I did not make a point of conscience of not playing."

The serene pleasures of literature, though not condemned, were yet to be enjoyed very sparingly. Some extremists refused to read Shakespeare, not for the reasons which induced Thomas Bowdler (1754-1825) to "bowdlerize" him; but because they found him too enthralling. "I was permitted," says Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna¹ (1790-1846), "to read *The Merchant of Venice*. I drank a cup of intoxication under which my brain reeled for many a year." Wilberforce, however, delighted in reading Shakespeare aloud to his children. Light reading was condemned as a "misappropriation of time." Hannah More of course

¹ A popular and Protestant writer.

eschewed the "highly-seasoned corruption" produced by Byron and his "compeers in sin and infamy"; but enjoyed Scott's poetry, though she regretted that it contained "so few maxims for the improvement of life and manners"; and, having read "one volume and a half" of his fiction, abstained from further perusal of it. "To the gay, the worldly, and the dissipated it is perhaps as safe as, or even more safe than, any of their other pleasurable resources"; but novel-reading was not for those who "made a strict profession of religion," and realized their accountability for their time—"which is, in the case of some, the only talent they have." Wilberforce was, in this respect as in others, more liberal than his co-religionists. In 1815 he wrote in his diary: "Twelfth Night, and, our children asking us, we invited the N——s, and all played blindman's buff for two hours and more; reading *Waverley*, and sometimes chess."

Even more surprising was the Evangelical attitude towards music. With the Bible full from cover to cover of psalms and hymns and harps and psalteries, it was impossible to condemn music as wicked, or to pronounce it an unfit pursuit for Christians; but apparently it was wrong to sing or play too well. Bishop Cleaver (1742-1815) made a remarkable cal-

culatation, which was inserted by Hannah More in her *Strictures on Female Education* : " Suppose your pupil to begin music at six years of age, and to continue the average of four hours a day at her instrument (a very low calculation), Sundays excepted, till she is eighteen, the statement stands thus—300 days multiplied by 4, the number of hours amounts to 1,200 ; this multiplied by 12, which is the number of years, amounts to 14,400 hours." ¹

I have said that a close study of the Bible was a main element of Evangelical religion. In this connexion I must refer to a special development of Biblical study which led to some unexpected results. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century men's minds were powerfully directed towards the investigation of Prophecy, especially in its bearing on the restoration of the Jews to Palestine, the millennial reign of CHRIST on earth, and the final Judgment. The leaders of the Evangelical party, such as Thomas Scott and Charles Simeon, discouraged these speculations as tending to distract men's energies from the immediate work of religion ; but Bishop Newton (1704-82) had dabbled in the subject, and others immersed themselves in it. Henry Kett (1761-1825) wrote *History the Interpreter of Prophecy* ; John Davison (1777-1834)

¹ But see p. 80.

published some *Discourses on Prophecy*, which were honourably distinguished by scholarship and modesty ; G. S. Faber (1773-1850) saw prophecy fulfilled in *The Revival of the French Emperorship* ; J. H. Frere (1779-1866), by his *Combined Views of the Prophecies of Daniel, Esdras, and S. John*, acquired the nickname of "The Prophet" ; and E. B. Elliott (1793-1875) made himself famous by his *Horæ Apocalyptice*. William Marsh (1775-1864) preached so incessantly on the subject that he became known as "Millennial Marsh," and, when he was appointed to a benefice in Birmingham, he was cordially received by the local Chartists, who fondly believed that "Marsh's Millennium" was identical with the Golden Age of social betterment which they had been taught to expect. "Rarely," says his biographer, "was he heard to speak of dates with reference to that subject ; but in 1845 he stated his own strong impression that within about five-and-twenty years from that time Antichrist would be revealed, and then the Second Advent of the Anointed King would be at hand."

One of the persons most deeply interested in prophetic research was Henry Drummond (1786-1860), banker, Member of Parliament, and eventually an Apostle among the Irvingites. In Advent, 1826, he gathered around him, at

Albury, near Guildford (a house which had once belonged to John Thornton), a company of Biblical students like-minded with himself ; and the same gathering was repeated annually for five years. Forty-four people in all took part in these conferences, of whom nineteen were English clergymen, eleven lay-members of the Church of England, and the rest Presbyterians or Dissenters. Among them were William Marsh ; Joseph Wolff (1795-1862), a converted Jew ; Hugh McNeile (1795-1879), afterwards Dean of Ripon ; Lord Mandeville (1799-1855), afterwards sixth Duke of Manchester ; William Dodsworth (1798-1861), who became a Roman Catholic after the Gorham Judgment ; and the illustrious Edward Irving (1792-1834).

The last of these Prophetical Conferences was held in July, 1830. The Reform Bill, the cholera, and the revolution in Paris were regarded as heralding the end of the world. Men's hearts were failing them for fear, and for looking after those things that were coming on the earth. It was agreed at Albury that the end was close at hand ; that Christians ought to pray for the revival of the miraculous gifts which had been vouchsafed to the Primitive Church ; and that it was a duty to enquire into the miraculous cures and Unknown Tongues which were said to be manifested at that moment in

the West of Scotland. In the following autumn a deputation of six friends from Albury visited Scotland, came back convinced of the genuineness of the "gifts," and in their turn converted Drummond and Irving. Here was the genesis of a new schism which subsists until to-day, and its history is told in Mrs. Oliphant's exquisite *Life of Edward Irving*. Dr. Pusey's biographers tell us that he thought the Irvingites a "most impracticable body." "They make a schism, and will not own that they are making it."

A curious contrast to what was quoted above about poetry and music is supplied by the diary of the apostolic missionary—Henry Martyn (1781–1812): "Since I have known God in a saving manner, painting, poetry, and music have had charms unknown to me before. I have received what I suppose is a taste for them ; for religion has refined my mind, and made it susceptible of impressions from the sublime and beautiful."

CHAPTER V

TRACTS AND TROUBLES

AN eventful moment in the history of the Church of England was now at hand. Cardinal Newman taught us to date the "Oxford Movement" from July 14, 1833, and Mr. Gladstone thus connected the Oxford Movement with the Evangelical Movement which we have been considering—"I do not say that the founders of the Oxford school announced, or even that they knew, to how large an extent they were to be pupils and continuators of the Evangelical work, besides being something else. . . . The only matter with which I am now concerned is to record the fact that the pith and life of the Evangelical teaching, as it consists in the re-introduction of CHRIST our LORD to be the woof and warp of preaching, was the great gift of the movement to the teaching Church, and has now penetrated and possessed it on a scale so general that it may be considered as pervading the whole mass."

That this testimony is true I entirely believe ; but it is not less true—indeed it is a matter of painful notoriety—that the men of the earlier movement regarded the new movement and all that pertained to it with misgiving and suspicion which before long developed into intense and acrimonious hostility. Why was this ? Because the Evangelical teachers, in their exclusive insistence on certain portions of the Christian revelation, had lost sight, and had led their followers to lose sight, of others. “The days,” said Dr. Liddon, “had not yet come when Evangelicals would think it possible to promote their Redeemer’s honour by depreciating His own Church and Sacraments ; but the omission to teach the whole body of revealed truth exposed the Evangelical revival to obvious dangers.” We saw at the outset that one of the sources which fed the stream of the Evangelical Movement was the little group of traditional Churchmen who, in an age of deadness and formality, preached CHRIST crucified, while they maintained the old theology concerning the Church, the ministry, and the Sacraments. All through the eighteenth century the influence of these men was felt in the life and teaching of the Evangelicals ; but, when they were removed, no successors arose who exactly filled their places. Bishop Horne died in 1792, Bishop Porteus in 1808, Bishop

Barrington in 1826; and the theology which they had held departed with them, or survived only in Bishop Thomas Burgess (1756–1837) and Bishop John Kaye (1783–1853). Justification by Faith, which had always been the principal part, now became the sum-total, of Evangelical teaching. Flippant critics decried it under the nickname of “Every man his own absolver,”¹ and graver people lamented that “the old-fashioned way of divinity seemed to have gone out altogether.” Looking back upon this period, Dr. Pusey wrote in 1882: “Some Evangelicals spoke of great deadly sins before their conversion as quietly as if they had been done by some one else, without expression of any compunction for them.”

Thomas Sikes (1767–1834) had, mainly through the works of Herbert Thorndike (1598–1672), been early brought to a clearer view of the Church and all that it implies than was at all common in his days. In 1833 Pusey visited him in his parsonage at Guilsborough in Northamptonshire, and eight years later thus reported his conversation:

¹ “This is why I so deprecate the word and the idea of Protestantism, because it seems inseparable to me from ‘Every man his own absolver’; that is, in other words, the same as ‘Peace where there is no peace,’ and mere shadows of Repentance.”—J. Keble, *Letters of Spiritual Counsel*.

“Wherever I go, all about the country, I see amongst the clergy a number of very amiable and estimable men, many of them much in earnest, and wishing to do good. But I have observed one universal want in their teaching, the uniform suppression of one great truth. There is no account given anywhere, so far as I can see, of the One Holy Catholic Church. . . . Now this great truth is an article of the Creed ; and, if so, to teach the rest of the Creed to its exclusion must be to destroy the analogy, or ‘proportion,’ of the faith. . . . Woe betide those, whoever they are, who shall, in the course of Providence, have to bring it forward. . . . They will be endlessly misunderstood and misinterpreted. There will be one great outcry of Popery from one end of the country to another.”

The doctrine of the Holy Catholic Church involves, of course, the theology which from the beginning the Church has held and taught—the deposit of the Faith ; and a generation which had forgotten the existence of the Church, except in the sense of the English “Establishment,” forgot also the truths concerning Orders and Sacraments which are the common heritage of Christendom. The famous *Tracts for the Times*, which began to issue from Oxford in September, 1833, aimed at the clear and emphatic enforcement of doctrines, which

indeed had never been explicitly denied by English Churchmen, but which had been often misunderstood and, in practice, generally ignored.

Fifty years later, Sir William Palmer (1803-85) wrote : "The early Tracts were directed against prevalent errors ; but they showed a want of practical knowledge of the systems advocated by Rome and by Nonconformists. With all their varied attainments, Newman and Froude were not at home in all these branches of theology, and were not aware of the necessity of caution in their arguments and use of language. The consequence was that Newman, and others who were similarly circumstanced, made use of incautious language in the Tracts, which gave wide offence in the Church, and created unmerited suspicions."

The first volume of the Tracts contained no fewer than twenty-one (out of forty-seven) devoted to the nature of the Church and the constitution of the ministry ; besides reprints of Beveridge on Communion and Cosin on Transubstantiation. The second volume pursued the same lines, and added the benefits of Fasting and the doctrine of Holy Baptism. The third volume reproduced Ussher on Prayers for the Dead, and *Catenae* of English divines on the Apostolic Succession and on Baptismal Regene-

ration. The fourth volume contained the most unhappy tract by Isaac Williams (1802-65) on "Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge," which, as Dean Church said, "was like the explosion of a mine." It was only intended as a protest against that coarse and irreverent handling of sacred topics which was then a lamentable feature of popular preaching, but the word "Reserve" was enough. "It meant that the Tract-writers avowed the principle of keeping back part of the counsel of God. It meant, further, that the real spirit of the party was disclosed, its love of secret and crooked methods, its indifference to knowledge, its disingenuous professions, its deliberate concealments, its holding doctrines and its pursuit of aims which it dared not avow, its *disciplina arcani*, its Jesuitism. All this kind of abuse was flung plentifully on the party as the controversy became warm ; and it mainly justified itself by the Tract on 'Reserve.' " The publication of the Tracts went on till the famous "Tract 90," published in 1841, incurred episcopal censure and so brought the series to a close. But the mischief was done. The Evangelicals had passed from bewilderment to suspicion, and from suspicion to violent enmity. In 1836 William Roberts (1767-1849), the biographer of Hannah More, extolled her in these words : "She was a true daughter of our national Zion ;

and it was her happiness to depart before the clouds which now envelope it had darkened the horizon." Surveying the general aspect of the nation, he enlarges on "the depression of Protestantism," the approaching crisis in the Church, the "consecrated cause" of the Reformation, and the "blood-bought experience" which the country was now being urged to forget. Lady Huntingdon's biographer, the Rev. A. C. H. Seymour (1789-1870), writing in 1839, refers to "the late Popish 'Oxford Tracts,'" condemns them as "unprotestant and therefore unpopular"; and sarcastically observes that they only "prove the absence of good theology in the University which gave them birth." In the same year Bishop Shirley wrote: "I dread these Oxford Tract views. . . . My fear is that we shall see the Laudian leaven reproducing the Pharisees and Sadducees of the time of Charles the Second. The next result will be the adoption, on both sides, of extreme opinions and uncompromising hostility." Four years later he wrote: "It seems to me that the first ten Tracts contain all the *virus* that was developed in the last of the series, and, as I think, logically developed; but the 'high Anglican' party did not, and do not, object to those early Tracts."

When Shirley predicted "the adoption, on

both sides, of extreme opinions and uncompromising hostility," he showed himself a true prophet. He himself, though an Evangelical to the heart's core, had said in 1828: "We may hope that, after a distrust of the mere *opus operatum* has led to low views of our Baptismal privileges, we shall see its due importance attached to the spiritual reception of the Sacrament when Faith stretches forth a discerning hand to take what God has placed within its reach. . . . I am really inclined to think that Baptism is not the only point on which modern sentiments have fallen below the standard of antiquity." A similar admission was made, as we have seen, by Charles Simeon.

If the Tracts had been written in a conciliatory spirit, reasserting the "standard of antiquity" in matters of faith and order, and scrupulously avoiding all that tended towards mediaeval accretions, it is possible that men like Shirley might have welcomed them, and might even have co-operated with the Tract-writers in recalling the Evangelical party to the traditional theology. But this was not what happened. The eager and imperious mind which originated and dominated the Tracts knew nothing of conciliation, and was instinctively distrustful of all moderate counsels. The Church was in danger, and Newman sought to alarm Churchmen, "as a man might

give notice of a fire or inundation." The early Tracts were "clear, brief, stern appeals to conscience and reason, sparing of words, utterly without rhetoric, intense in purpose. They were like the short, sharp, rapid utterances of men in pain and danger and pressing emergency." Those earlier Tracts were indeed free from any Roman implications ; and such men as Samuel Wilberforce and W. F. Hook found in them nothing to condemn, and much to admire. But the tone soon changed. Pusey's Tract on Baptism, as he himself said, "scared " people with the ghastly notion that post-baptismal sin was unforgivable. Williams taught "Reserve," and Keble Mysticism. Newman extolled the Roman Breviary, thereby "frightening his own friends." By successive *Catenae* from Anglican writers he sought to prove that an English Churchman might hold "a comprecation with the saints, with Bramhall, and the Mass, all but Transubstantiation, with Andrewes, or with Hooker that Transubstantiation itself is not a point for Churches to part communion upon, or with Hammond that a General Council, truly such, never did, never shall, err in a matter of faith, or with Bull that man lost inward grace by the Fall, or with Thorndike that penance is a propitiation for post-baptismal sin, or with Pearson that the

all-powerful Name of Jesus is no otherwise given than in the Catholic Church.”¹ All this was startling enough to a generation which had never known, or had forgotten, the traditional theology; and finally, in 1841, came Tract 90; which induced Francis Close (1797–1882), afterwards Dean of Carlisle, to say, “I should be sorry to trust the author of that Tract with my purse”; and inclined a vast number of plain Englishmen to agree with Close. Some of the opponents of Tractarianism traced its origin to *The Christian Year*, which, published in 1827, had cheered the declining years of William Wilberforce. Josiah Pratt (1768–1844), Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, wrote as follows: “This school, which seems to me to have had its birth in the spirit which kindled some years since and breathed forth in Keble’s mystified poetry, is now attempting to undermine and pervert every distinguishing doctrine of the Gospel.”

The effect produced by the Oxford Movement on the Evangelical party was threefold.

1. Many of the party it swept into its own current, and not a few it eventually landed at Rome.² Among the men Evangelically trained,

¹ *Apologia pro vita sua*. Part V.

² There was a remarkable secession from Evangelicalism to Rome just before the Oxford Movement began. The

who, though touched by the influence of the Movement, still remained loyal to the Church of England were Samuel Wilberforce (1805-73), eventually Bishop of Winchester; Lord Addington (1805-89); W. E. Gladstone (1809-98); Lord Northbourne (1816-93); Sir Walter Farquhar (1810-1900); W. K. Hamilton (1808-69), Bishop of Salisbury; ¹ P. R. Hoare (1803-77); A. H. Mackonochie (1825-87), first Vicar of S. Alban's, Holborn; S. W. O'Neill (1837-82), a Cowley Father; and H. P. Liddon (1829-90). Among the Evangelicals who by various paths found their way to Rome were J. H. Newman, H. E. Manning,

Hon. and Rev. George Spencer (1799-1864) seceded in 1830, and eventually became "Father Ignatius," of the Passionists. The influence that led him astray was that of Ambrose March-Phillipps De Lisle (1809-78), who himself had seceded in 1824.

¹ Bishop Hamilton, who had been reckoned "a model Evangelical preacher," dated his adhesion to the Oxford Movement from a meeting of Evangelical clergy held at Islington, to protest against the proceedings of the Tractarians. "On leaving the room, Mr. Hamilton grasped the arm of the friend who accompanied him, and asked, 'Can this be really doing God's work?' He felt, he said, the contrast between this bitter denunciation of the Oxford school, and the quiet, holy, Christian lives of the men who represented it: it seemed to him that, if the fruits of the Spirit were to be taken as an evidence of His guiding Presence, the Tractarians of the day had that evidence on their side."—H. P. Liddon, *Walter Kerr Hamilton—a Sketch*.

W. Dodsworth, R. W. Sibthorp, F. W. Faber, G. D. Ryder, J. R. Hope-Scott, the second Lord Gainsborough, Sir John Simeon, and three sons of William Wilberforce. Mr. Gladstone has left it on record that "among the leading minds associated with the Romeward movement an overruling proportion, in weight if not in numbers, were supplied by those who had previously served in the Evangelical camp."

2. While it thus attracted some of the Evangelicals, the Oxford Movement vehemently repelled others, who hastened to demonstrate their own orthodoxy by the most virulent attacks on what they thought to be the new doctrines of the Oxford school. These illustrated the wise saying of the Irvingite Henry Drummond, that religious people are generally right in what they affirm and wrong in what they deny. The Evangelicals were right when they affirmed the doctrine of the Cross, and wrong when they denied the doctrine of the Church and the Sacraments. Daniel Wilson, in his early writings, had used language about the font, the altar, and the Eucharistic Sacrifice, which, after the Tracts had alarmed the Evangelicals, would have been stigmatized as rank Popery. As late as 1838, William Cowper (1811-88), afterwards Lord Mount Temple, wrote about the Holy Communion in a strain which the traditional Churchmen would have

welcomed: "Christmas Day. Have taken the Sacrament with the most intense delight. What earthly happiness can be so great, and so without alloy, as the sense of communion with our Divine Saviour, the feeding on His Body, and becoming a member of His Flesh, His Spiritual Body? I have surrendered myself entirely to Him this day. Oh, that I may not infringe that happy compact, or employ myself sacrilegiously with anything but His work!" Edward Bickersteth (1786-1850) who became one of the stoutest opponents of Tractarianism, wrote thus in his *Treatise on the Lord's Supper*, published in 1822: "The LORD's Supper was designed to represent, commemorate, and show forth the LORD's Death as a sacrifice for sin. This is done as a prevailing mode of pleading His merits before God. It has been observed¹ that 'what we more compendiously express in the usual conclusion of our prayers, *through Jesus Christ our Lord*, we more fully and forcibly represent in the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, when we plead the virtues and merits of the same Sacrifice here which our great High Priest is continually urging for us in Heaven.'"

But, before many years were over, the Evangelical party plunged into fratricidal

¹ By Thomas Comber (1645-99), in his *Companion to the Altar*, mdcclxxv.

warfare with the adherents of the Oxford Movement. The leaders on each side, in their zeal for imperilled truth, extolled their own tenets and denounced those of their opponents with ever-increasing bitterness, until the Evangelicals permitted themselves to call Baptismal Regeneration a "soul-destroying error," and an Evangelical bishop refused Priest's Orders to a deacon who believed in the Eucharistic Presence; while, on the other hand, one Tractarian "said plainly that in subscribing the Articles he renounced no Roman doctrine," and claimed the right to subscribe them in a non-natural sense, and another, "profoundly dissatisfied with the Anglican Church," declared that its first principles, "so far as it had any," were founded on misconceptions of doctrine, and that "its moral atmosphere choked him."

3. I said that the effect of the Tractarian Movement on the Evangelical party was three-fold. We have seen that it attracted some and repelled others, driving both sections alike into extremes. It had yet a third effect, which was the development of a new section, composed of those who had sympathized with the earlier Tracts, but were incensed by the later ones; who were glad to follow where the Anglican divines had led, but hated Rome, and would not take a step in the

Romeward direction. A typical member of this section or group was Samuel Wilberforce (1805-73), who was born and reared in the very heart of the Evangelical party. In 1833 he preached (at Bishop C. R. Sumner's visitation) a sermon on "The Apostolical Ministry," in which he called upon the clergy to "prize at a higher rate that unbroken succession whereby those who ordained us are joined unto CHRIST's own Apostles." In 1835 he wrote in his journal: "Read Pusey's Tract on Fasting.¹ Am convinced by it, if not of the duty, yet certainly of the expediency, of conforming to the rules of the Church on this point. . . . I have therefore determined, with God's help, to make a conscience of observing the fasts of the Church." In the same year he wrote to his mother: "I do not understand the Articles in a Calvinistic sense; but I maintain that I understand them in their true sense. . . . For the rest I belong to no school. In many things I do not agree with the few Oxford Tracts I have read. But I do agree with all those great lights whom God has from time to time given to His Church—with Hooker and Bramhall and Taylor, with Beveridge and Stillingfleet, and with the primitive Church of the first three centuries. It may be called Popery by an ignorant or a malicious latitu-

¹ No. 18 of *Tracts for the Times*.

dinarian ; but, if I do not greatly mistake, it will one day be found that he was far nearer the Socinian heresy than I to the Roman inventions."

In the following year he wrote to a friend : "Do you see the *Tracts for the Times* ? They are well worth your reading." But even now he had begun to doubt the teaching of Pusey's Tract on Baptism. "It seems to me to be pushed too far—I mean the deadly state to which they picture sin after Baptism to reduce man." In 1838 : "I can't bear Pusey's new sin after Baptism. . . . There are ignorant and bowed-down souls who need a more welcoming treatment." In the same year he thus expressed his misgivings : "*Quære* — have I hardness enough not to be ground to powder between the Evangelical and Newman mills?" In 1839, when Pusey defended the Tractarian doctrine as free from any "tendency to Romanism," he writes : "Have you seen Pusey's defence ? I think some parts good and effective, some remarkably unsatisfactory . . . That about Sacraments more than two, special pleading and quibbling of which I could not have believed Pusey capable."

In 1841 he wrote to his brother, R. I. Wilberforce : "It seems to me that, at present, the Tract men are threatening us

with two great dangers—(1) Romanizing our best men of one tone, (2) driving into utter Low Church our best men of the other. I think it necessary to give them the strongest check we can, and especially needful, if we *do* hold really Church views, thoroughly to testify against their modification of them, in order to prove to young men that they have another choice than between *them* and the Low Church.” And again, to an anxious friend: “For the personal piety of the writers of the Tracts I entertain the most unfeigned veneration, but . . . God’s Word seems to me to contradict the points peculiar to their teaching. It is true that I agree with them upon many points; but they are the points upon which (to name no others) manifestly Richard Hooker and Bishop Beveridge agreed with them also. They are not their *peculiarities*. My opinions, indeed, have been formed in a far different school. They are those of my beloved father, as I could prove, were it needful, from many written records of his judgment as to the tenor of my ministry. . . . You know my dread of the ‘Tract’ doctrine of Reserve, of its coldness and suppression and earthly wisdom; you know my love and gratitude towards the memory of our great Reformers; you know my fear of robbing religion of its true spiritual

character in the heart of the faithful man ; you know my abhorrence of Rome and of the result of Romish doctrine—that *caput mortuum* of piety—whether reached through the Papacy or any other system.” In the last year of his life he wrote thus to his old friend Marianne Thornton¹ : “ Year by year it seems to become for the ‘Recordites’ impossible to understand how any one can be a good Churchman and yet an Evangelical, a believer in the Sacraments and yet an abhorrer of ‘the Confessional,’ and a scorner of the little apish Romanism of the Ritualists.”

The group of Churchmen whom Bishop Wilberforce thus described contained such men as Sir Thomas Acland (1787–1871); Sir Robert Inglis (1786–1855), M.P. for the University of Oxford; Henry Melvill (1798–1871), Canon of S. Paul’s; E. M. Goulburn (1818–97), Dean of Norwich; and George Richmond (1809–96), R.A.; and it gathered to itself some men who had been trained in the traditional theology, but revolted from what they considered the Romeward tendency of the later Tracts. Such were W. F. Hook (1798–1875), Dean of Chichester; and Benjamin Harrison (1808–87), who began as Pusey’s Assistant Lecturer

¹ Born 1797, died 1887. The last survivor of the “Clapham Sect.”



MARIANNE THORNTON.

"Her abilities, wit, and charm of conversation, were the delight of all who were admitted to the privilege of her friendship during her long life."

in Hebrew and confidential adviser about the Tracts, became Domestic Chaplain at Lambeth, and ended as Archdeacon of Maidstone. The motto of the group was "Evangelical Truth with Apostolical Order," and its chief was C. J. Blomfield (1786-1857), Bishop of London, a man of unbounded activity and excellent scholarship, though "not," as Dean Church says, "at his best as a divine."¹ The bishop was thus felicitously described by Lord Beaconsfield in *Tancred*: "He was one of those leaders who are not guides. Having little real knowledge, and not endowed with those high qualities of intellect which permit their possessor to generalize the details afforded by study and experience, and so to deduce rules of conduct, his Lordship, when he received those frequent appeals which were the necessary consequence of his officious life, became obscure, confused, contradictory, inconsistent, illogical. The oracle was always dark. . . . The bishop, always ready, had in the course of his episcopal career placed himself at the head of every movement in the Church which others had originated, and had as regularly withdrawn at the right moment, when the heat was over,

¹ In 1838 Samuel Wilberforce, after hearing Blomfield preach, wrote in his diary: "He flings his head at you too much, otherwise VERY effective manner. As far as I have heard, he is the best preacher in his diocese."

or had become, on the contrary, excessive. Furiously Evangelical, soberly High and Dry, and fervently Puseyite, each phasis of his faith concludes with what the Spaniards term a 'transaction.' The 'Saints'¹ are to have their new churches, but they are also to have their rubrics and their canons; the Universities may supply successors to the Apostles, but they are also presented with a Church Commission; even the Puseyites may have candles on their altars, but they must not be lighted."

This sarcastic, but not unjust, description of Bishop Blomfield fits very aptly into the stage in Evangelical history which we have now reached. In 1842 the bishop addressed to the clergy of the Diocese of London a Charge, in which, while declaiming against the errors of Tract 90, he insisted that the rubrics of the Prayer Book have binding force, and specified various particulars in which the Puritanical clergy had disobeyed them. On this, the clergy of the Parish of Islington, always a stronghold of Evangelicalism, made a formal

¹ The Evangelicals were sometimes nicknamed "Methodists" and sometimes "Saints." "They were the *devôts*, the *bacchettoni*, the 'saints' of the land."—W. E. Gladstone. cf. S. T. Coleridge: "The Pharisees were (if I may dare use a phrase which I dislike as profane and denounce as uncharitable) the *Evangelicals* and strict *Professors* of the day."—*Aids to Reflection*.

protest against the requirement of obedience ; and the bishop weakly surrendered. A controversial storm arose ; the bishop found that his line was unpopular, and in his Charge of 1846 he withdrew the requirements which he had laid down in 1842.

Between those two dates great events occurred. As far back as February, 1841, Tract 90 had been mildly censured by Bishop Bagot of Oxford (1782-1854) as "objectionable," and Newman, who felt that "a bishop's lightest word *ex cathedrâ*, is heavy," had stopped the series ; but in the autumn of that year "the bishops, one after another, began to charge against him," and to condemn, not merely Tract 90, but the Tracts as a whole. In 1842 Pusey was suspended from the office of preaching before the University of Oxford for having taught the Real Presence. By these events and others like them Newman and his followers were deeply discouraged, and secessions to Rome became frequent. R. W. Sibthorp had seceded in 1841, and he was followed, within the next four years, by W. G. Ward, J. M. Capes, J. B. Dalgairns, F. W. Faber, F. Oakeley, and A. W. Christie. In October, 1845, Newman himself took the fatal step to which his influence had already conducted so many of his disciples, and the Tractarian Movement seemed to collapse.

Mr. Gladstone, writing in 1873, said that Newman "drew after him the third part of the stars of heaven," and Lord Beaconsfield, in 1870, spoke of Newman's secession as "a blow to the Church of England under which it still reels."¹ We must now look at its effect on the Evangelical party and the Evangelical Movement.

¹ See the "General Preface" to his novels—"Little more than a year after the publication of *Coningsby*, the secession of Dr. Newman dealt a blow to the Church of England under which it still reels. That extraordinary event has been 'apologized for,' but has never been explained. It was a mistake and a misfortune."

CHAPTER VI

DECADENCE

THE twenty years which succeeded the collapse of Tractarianism were years of triumph, and of increasing triumph, for the Evangelical party. In the eighteenth century the Evangelicals had endured contumely, ridicule, slander, and even persecution ; and in the fact that the world hated them they had the strongest assurance that their work was owned and blessed by God. They overcame by endurance. Their abstinence from retaliation, their piety, their earnestness, their zeal in evangelization, their fruitfulness in good works, by degrees drew many to their side ; and before the death of Simeon they had, without strife or effort, made good their position in the English Church. But now a change was at hand. The saints and patriarchs of the movement were gone, and their places were filled by men of a different type. As we have already seen, the dread of

Romanism drew the Evangelicals into controversial activity ; and in their opposition to the Tractarian Movement they too often forgot the law of charity, and even of decency. Unhappily, the events of 1845 seemed to justify their harshest polemics. They found themselves in the position, always seductive but often perilous, of being able to say, "I told you so." What they had always predicted had come to pass ; and a movement which aimed at restoring and reviving the Church of England had ended in a signal victory for Rome. Henceforward their controversial activity was redoubled, and its bitterness increased tenfold. Evangelical preaching underwent a marked decline. The constructive truth of the Atonement was replaced by fierce denunciations of those who rejected the "forensic" idea of it, and by systematic denial of all that the Church teaches about Sacraments and Orders. In short, the party which had been "Evangelical" became "Low Church," and the alteration was not an improvement.

The "Gorham" controversy of 1847-50 accentuated and embittered the differences among Churchmen, and gave Low Churchmanship a twofold triumph. In the first place it proved that a clergyman who rejected the Catholic doctrine of Holy Baptism was not, in

the eyes of the law, disqualified for the cure of souls ; and, in the second, it drove a new and an important group of seceders into the Church of Rome. Both results were delightful to Low Churchmen. On April 8, 1851, Lord Shaftesbury (1801-85) wrote in his diary : "Arch-deacon Manning has joined the Church of Rome, and four clergymen in Leeds have done the same. LORD, purge the Church of those men who, while their hearts are in the Vatican, still eat the bread of the Establishment and undermine her !"

The mention of Lord Shaftesbury introduces the most important lay-member of the Low Church party during the period which we are now considering. His words have been casually cited in previous pages, but this point is suitable for a more detailed account of this remarkable, and in many respects great, man. Lord Shaftesbury combined in singular degree the gifts that make a leader. He had an imperious will, a perfervid temper, unbounded enthusiasm, untiring industry. Any movement with which he was connected he controlled. He brooked neither opposition nor criticism. His authority was reinforced by his high station, by signal advantages of aspect and bearing, by a stately manner and a commanding eloquence. But all these advantages were as nothing when compared with the power of his lifelong con-

sistency. When he was a boy at Harrow, a brutal scene at a pauper's funeral awoke his lifelong devotion to the cause of the poor and helpless, and it was his noble lot to spend sixty years of active life in the spiritual and social service of humanity.

Such was Shaftesbury the Evangelical. Shaftesbury the Low Churchman is a more controversial figure, deriving its importance from the accident of relationship. Lady Shaftesbury had been Lady Emily Cowper, whose mother became, by her second marriage, wife of Lord Palmerston. That heathenish but shrewd old statesman became Prime Minister for the first time in 1855, and Shaftesbury, though much attached to his stepfather-in-law, thought that the appointment boded ill for the Evangelical cause. He wrote thus to his son : "I much fear that Palmerston's ecclesiastical appointments will be detestable. He does not know, in theology, Moses from Sydney Smith. . . . Why, it was only a short time ago that he heard, for the first time, of the grand heresy of the Puseyites and Tractarians !"

This was dreadful indeed, but Shaftesbury's misgivings proved to be quite unfounded. Palmerston's heathenishness was corrected by his shrewdness ; for he at once put his ecclesiastical conscience into Shaftesbury's keeping, with results which crowned the triumph of the

Low Church party. Here is Shaftesbury's account of the business. Palmerston, in his successive premierships, had to appoint, either by nomination or translation, three English archbishops, two Irish archbishops, sixteen English bishops, four Irish bishops, and thirteen English deans ; to say nothing of Canons and Regius Professors. In dispensing this patronage, larger than "any three Prime Ministers, together, had attained," Palmerston "at once and from the very first gave his confidence" to Shaftesbury. "He often thanked me, in the warmest language, for the advice I gave him, and showed his appreciation of it by never making but one appointment, so far as I can recollect, without consulting me on the matter. . . . He regarded any approximation to Popery, Popish doctrines, and Popish practices, with special dislike and even fear." His appointments, approved by Shaftesbury, were remarkably free from any Popish taint. Their highest point of Churchmanship was touched by W. Jacobson, R. C. Trench, E. H. Browne, and C. J. Ellicott ; and they include the names of A. C. Tait, W. Thomson, H. M. Villiers, C. Baring, S. Waldegrave, F. Close, W. Goode, and H. Law. Of Tait Shaftesbury wrote : "I recommended him for London, as believing that the 'Broad Church' ought to be represented (I advised as though Prime Minister), and selected

Dr. Tait as the mildest among them. It is an appointment in some respects to be regretted, in other respects to be commended, for undoubtedly we have got from him, as Bishop of London, ten times as much as ever was obtained from one, or all, of his predecessors."

That the appointments which Shaftesbury suggested and Palmerston made should not be universally acceptable was only natural. Bishop S. Wilberforce, who, as we saw, combined earnest Churchmanship with Evangelical traditions, wrote thus about some of his episcopal brethren: "Our wild elephants seem every now and then a little tamed, and, if the 'bishop-maker' were dethroned by the fall of 'Pam,' might, I think, become manageable. At present it is sad work—such ignorance of first principles!"

This was written in February, 1858; in the following month "Pam" was driven from office, but only for a year. In 1859 he became Prime Minister once more, and with him the "bishop-maker" returned to power. For the next six years Low Churchmanship and Broad Churchmanship carried all before them. Palmerston died in October, 1865, and in November Shaftesbury wrote thus to his coadjutor Alexander Haldane (1801-87), chief proprietor and leader-writer of the *Record*: "The document you have sent me, exhibiting the ecclesi-

astical patronage bestowed by Lord Palmerston, is a document demanding gratitude to Almighty God. . . . You may take to yourself very large consolation. That list may be to you, by God's mercy, one of 'the pleasures of memory.' Your wide experience, sound judgment, and Christian heart were of signal, nay, indispensable, importance; and now that we, like all other 'dogs,' have had our 'day,' and shrink again to our former proportions, let us bless the LORD that, in His good pleasure, He used us, and has done so much by small instruments."

The *Record* played an important part in the history of the Evangelical Movement. It was founded in 1828, and for a very long period it was the organ of Evangelicalism. In discharging that function it shared the fortunes and the tendencies of the party which it served. It began as an oracle of spiritual religion; it became a virulent and uncharitable accuser of the brethren. Blind prejudice, not only against Romanism but against all that is distinctively Churchmanlike, was its governing principle. I believe that, under recent editorships, it has acquired a more Christian tone; but what it was in the 'fifties may be gathered from the following letter, which was addressed to the editor by Bishop Wilberforce in 1853: "I am quite aware that such a course as you pursue is for the advantage

of your journal. But I would ask you solemnly to consider whether any circulation obtained by embittering the minds of Christians against one another is not a gain obtained by fearful wickedness. . . . Oh, sir, there is indeed a day coming, when to have lived by stirring up strife between Christians will be no better a profession than to have lived upon the wages of prostitution.”¹

It was remarked at an earlier stage of this book that the Evangelicals energized to a great extent through the societies which they specially favoured. They were not particularly attached to the two historic Church Societies, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (founded in 1698) and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (founded in 1701). They bestowed their affections on the Religious Tract Society (1799), the Church Missionary Society (1799), the London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews (1809), the British and Foreign Bible Society (1804), and the Church Pastoral Aid Society (1836). Of these the most popular and influential were the Bible Society and the Church Missionary Society.

The Bible Society, founded with the design

¹ In connexion with this subject the reader is referred to the *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, vol. ii, c. 5, and further to chapter i of Thackeray's *Brown the Younger at a Club*.

of circulating the Scriptures without note or comment, passed through many vicissitudes. At first it was assailed by the High Churchmen, who maintained that the S.P.C.K. was the Church's proper Bible Society. In 1813 Isaac Milner wrote from Carlisle, on the death of the Bishop of London, John Randolph (1749-1813): "His removal, I hope, cannot well fail to be favourable to the Church. He was most abominably tyrannical, and prejudiced up to the ears. His enmity to the Bible Society has been excessive, and unreasonable in the highest degree. I was not without some hopes of raising a Bible Society Auxiliary in these parts, but everything seems adverse among the great. Our Bishop¹ is prejudiced beyond example, and I am sorry to hear that Lord Lonsdale, from whom I had hoped better things, is most determined to be hostile, and has got it into his head that we are all Dissenters, or little better, at bottom." The High Churchmen were unexpectedly reinforced by so unecclesiastical an ally as Sydney Smith, who wrote in 1813 that Churchmen were bound to "circulate the Scriptures with the Prayer Book, in preference to any other method." Then arose a controversy about the Apocrypha—should it be included in the bibles issued by the Society? If it

¹ Samuel Goodenough (1743-1827).

were, there would be a better chance for the bibles to circulate in foreign countries. If it were not, the Society could boast that it only issued "pure and uncorrupt versions." After hot debate, the Apocrypha was banished in 1826. Next arose the Trinitarian controversy—should the Society admit Unitarians to its membership? By so doing, was not the Society condoning fundamental error? It was decided in 1831 that any one who chose to subscribe was a fit and proper member. A fourth difficulty arose from Quakerism. The authorities of the Society, being Christian men, naturally desired to begin their meetings with prayer. Quakers never will announce prayer beforehand, but await the motion of the Spirit. So prayer was for the time being discarded, and the Society regained its balance.¹ It had an excellent organization, with "Auxiliaries" all over the country, and its meetings were the only occasions on which Churchmen and Nonconformists shared the same platform.

The Church Missionary Society was, as it still is, a very vigorous body. It had, of course, no dealings with Dissent, but was the stronghold of Evangelical Churchmanship. Its meetings were marked by a vivacity and

¹ Prayer was introduced through Lord Shaftesbury's efforts in 1857.

a heartiness which were not always found in gatherings of the "S.P.G.," and they were anticipated in rural districts with pleasurable curiosity. "The missionary appeared on the platform; he was hailed with enthusiasm. He repeated a dialogue he had heard between two negroes behind a hedge; the approbation was tumultuous. He gave an imitation of the two negroes in broken English; the roof was rent with applause." Dickens wrote those words in 1835, but they describe with precision the missionary eloquence to which I listened in the 'sixties of last century.

I said just now that Churchmen and Dissenters met only on the platform of the Bible Society, but this statement needs some qualification. In 1845 Sir Culling Eardley, and other Low Churchmen, joined in founding "The Evangelical Alliance," with the object of "promoting unity among all denominations of Protestant Christians against Romanism and infidelity," and the Alliance still holds annual meetings. In 1835 was founded "The London City Mission" in which Evangelical Churchmen co-operated with orthodox Non-conformists to purify the slums. A less auspicious birth was that of "The Church Association," founded in 1865, "to uphold the doctrines, principles, and order of the

Church of England, and to counteract the efforts now being made to pervert her teaching on essential points of the Christian Faith, or assimilate her services to the Church of Rome." This association, which Archbishop Magee (1821-91) nicknamed "The Persecution Company, Limited," was responsible, either directly or indirectly, for a long series of scandalous and abortive prosecutions of devoted clergy for supposed errors in points of ritual. These prosecutions began in 1867 with an attack on A. H. Mackonochie (1825-87), Vicar of S. Alban's, Holborn, and ended with the vindication of Bishop Edward King (1829-1910). Here I may aptly quote from Lord Shaftesbury's diary: "To the question, 'What have the Evangelicals to fear?' I reply, 'Themselves.'"¹

¹ The first "Ritual suit"—*Westerton v. Liddell*—was instituted in 1855 and decided in 1857.

CHAPTER VII

LEADERS AND LEADERSHIP

IN the period of the Evangelical Movement which we have now considered, and which I have dated from the collapse of Tractarianism in 1845, who were the most important leaders? I will take clergymen first. Some, who had begun to be influential at an earlier stage in the movement, have already been mentioned; conspicuous among these was Edward Bickersteth (1786-1850), Rector of Whatton, and a copious orator and writer. Many must be added, and I will take a few of the more familiar names:

H. H. Beamish (1795-1872) was Minister of Holy Trinity Chapel, Conduit Street; and William Cowper wrote of him in 1836: "The most fervent, spiritual preacher I had ever heard." Henry Blunt (1794-1843), Incumbent of Holy Trinity, Upper Chelsea, and afterwards Rector of Streatham, was a mild and amiable pietist with fragile health, much

frequented by the Evangelical aristocracy.¹ Gerard Noel² (1782-1851), Vicar of Romsey, was a preacher and hymn-writer of repute; but was not so conspicuous in the world's eye as his brother Baptist Noel (1798-1873), who, having been Minister of S. John's Chapel, Bedford Row, relinquished "the church which was his living and the pulpit which was his throne"; and published (in 1849) a powerful attack on "the Union of Church and State." Baptist Noel's action is the more remarkable, because, as a rule, the Evangelicals were staunch upholders of what was called "The Establishment," and were almost without exception Conservatives. In 1841, Bishop Shirley, himself a Whig, wrote thus: "The worst of it is that the Evangelical body do not know who are their best friends, and fraternize with the Tories, who have ever been their most determined opponents and persecutors, instead of the Whigs, from whom we have had admirable Church measures, and the best Church appointments."

Another conspicuous figure was J. W. Cunningham (1780-1861), Vicar of Harrow,

¹ In 1834 the Duchess of Gordon wrote: "During Lent I enjoyed myself very much, not missing one of Mr. Blunt's Lectures." It was under Blunt's influence that Cardinal Manning abandoned a secular career; see his *Life*, vol. i, c. 6.

² Second son of Diana, in her own right Baroness Barham, who died in 1823.



THE REV. J. W. CUNNINGHAM.

"In September, 1861, he died, full of years, not without literary honour, and his parish followed him to the grave like one great family."

whom one of his parishioners—Mrs. Trollope—savagely caricatured in *The Vicar of Wrexhill*,¹ and of whom the Duchess of Beaufort wrote : “ It is so delightful to think of having for our companions throughout the endless ages of eternity such men as Mr. Cunningham, etc.”

William Thorpe (1780–1865) was Minister first of the Lock, and then of Belgrave Chapel. His fame as a preacher is indicated in the *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, vol. i, c. 4. Charles Bridges (1794–1869), Rector of Hinton Martell, was chiefly famous for his *Exposition of Psalm cxix*, a devotional work of great repute. Thomas Dale (1797–1870), Vicar of S. Pancras and eventually Dean of Rochester, was a scholar, a poet, and an eloquent preacher. Charles Bradley (1789–1871), sometime Incumbent of S. James’s Chapel, Clapham, was a preacher so highly esteemed that H. V. Elliott recommended his *Clapham Sermons* and the last volume of his *Practical Sermons* as “about the best I know; there are none like them altogether.”² But he rather outlived his reputation.

¹ In 1838 Samuel Wilberforce wrote to a friend : “ *The Vicar of Wrexhill* is meant, you know, for the Vicar of Harrow-on-the-Hill, Mr. Cunningham. It is a most abominable personal attack.”

² Elliott has already been mentioned in this narrative, as well as his brother E. B. Elliott.

Henry Melvill (1798-1871) was Rector of Barnes and Canon of S. Paul's. Mr. Gladstone, a lifelong and attentive frequenter of sermons, used to say that the four greatest preachers he had ever heard were Edward Irving, Cardinal Newman, Dr. Chalmers, and Henry Melvill; and that, if a preacher is to be measured by his power of arresting the attention of his hearers, Melvill was the greatest of the four. In 1833 Samuel Wilberforce thus described him: "Powerful man, noisy—great danger of extravagance." That danger was happily avoided, and Melvill became an extremely careful, elaborate, and effective preacher. His sermons are at once spiritual and ingenious, and are written in a vein of exalted rhetoric.

Hugh McNeile (1795-1879), sometime Vicar of S. Paul's, Liverpool, and afterwards Dean of Ripon, was, according to Mr. Gladstone's testimony, "an eloquent and most finished preacher, and an able, resolute, and upright man," and a most vehement opponent of Popery and latitudinarianism.¹ Francis Close (1797-1882), eventually Dean of Carlisle, was for thirty years Rector of Cheltenham, and it was written of him that "the history of the town for all that

¹ For his famous comparison of Dr. Pusey and Dr. Temple to the two lepers in Leviticus xiii, see the *Times* for October 26, 1869.

period was the history of a single clergyman. Close was the Pope of Cheltenham, with pontifical prerogatives from which the temporal had not been severed." Hugh Stowell (1799-1865) was Incumbent of Christ Church, Salford, and did for Manchester what McNeile did for Liverpool. J. C. Ryle (1816-1900), long an incumbent in Suffolk, and eventually Bishop of Liverpool, was a forcible writer, and perhaps the most effective of all the controversialists on the Low Church side.

Other names, of perhaps rather less prominence, belong to the same period—Bishop J. T. Pelham (1811-94); Bishop Ashton Oxenden (1808-92); Bishop A. W. Thorold (1825-95); Bishop H. M. Villiers (1813-61); James Garbett (1802-79), sometime Professor of Poetry at Oxford; J. C. Miller (1814-80), Rector of Greenwich and Canon of Rochester; William Cadman (1815-91), Rector of Marylebone and Canon of Canterbury; Gordon Calthrop (1823-94), Incumbent of S. Augustine's, Highbury; Edward Auriol (1805-80), Rector of S. Dunstan-in-the-West; Edward Garbett (1817-87), Incumbent of Christ Church, Surbiton, and sometime Editor of the *Record*; Daniel Moore (1809-99), Vicar of Holy Trinity, Paddington; and Emilius Bayley, afterwards Sir Emilius Laurie,

Vicar of S. John's, Paddington, who was born in 1823, and still (1915) survives.

Before we part company with the Evangelical clergy of the nineteenth century, I must add to the list the names of some remarkable men, who, inheriting from the earlier Evangelicals the special power of mission-preaching, strenuously taught the doctrines of conversion and justification, and not less strenuously maintained sacramental truth. These were Robert Aitken (1800-73), Vicar of Pendeen; Richard Twigg (1826-79), Vicar of Wednesbury; Bishop G. H. Wilkinson (1833-1907); R. M. Grier (1834-94), Vicar of Rugeley; George Body (1840-1911), trained by R. Twigg, and eventually Canon of Durham; and Charles Bodington, Canon of Lichfield, who is still (1915) spared to the Church.

Who were the lay-leaders of the Evangelical party during this period? A clue to the answer may perhaps be found in the following extract from the journal of Archbishop Benson (1829-96) after his first Confirmations at Tonbridge and Tunbridge Wells in 1883:

"Most interesting Confirmations in the very Beulah of these darling old Evangelicals. We stayed most happily with the D——s in their beautiful home, meeting there . . . the Evangelical shepherds and sheep, for Mr. D—— suffers none beside. They are all right

—they hold nothing but the truth, and they hold it strongly, consistently, sweetly, with just a little tinge of Torquemada. . . . There is something in Evangelicalism, as it exists now—in ‘Protestant truth,’ as dear Mr. D—— calls it—which is very concordant with wealth.”

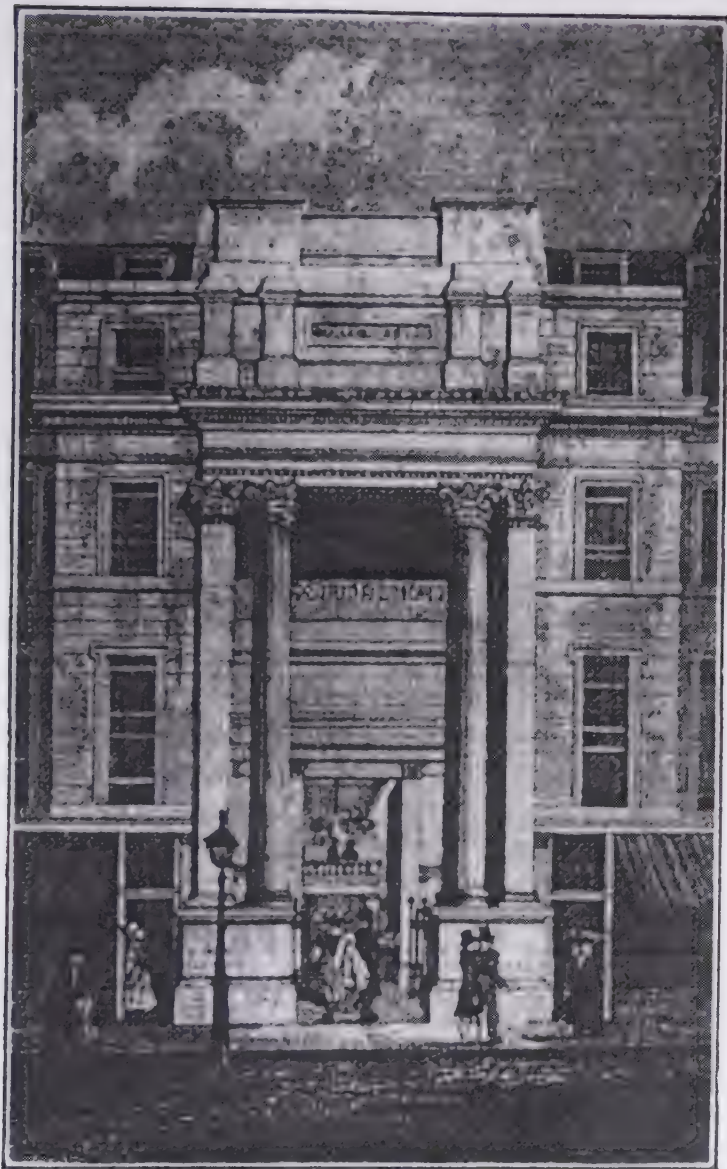
“Very concordant with wealth” are the important words. Debarred by their principles from amusement, the Evangelicals went in for comfort, and the “pleasures of the table” were among the few which these good people allowed themselves. Thackeray noted this trait when he wrote: “I don’t know when I have been better entertained, as far as creature comforts are concerned, than by men of very Low Church principles.” The leaders of the Low Churchmen were, as a rule, wealthy men—bankers, brewers, merchants, and manufacturers; in many cases recent converts from Quakerism. With these were mixed a few peers and Members of Parliament, and a good many country gentlemen not otherwise known to fame. Lord Mount Temple, already mentioned, though earnestly Evangelical in his personal convictions, was deemed by sterner theologians too tolerant of error, and so rather lost his position in the movement. Arthur Kinnaird, eventually Lord Kinnaird, had a foot planted firmly in each world, and was noted for his resistance to the free spread of episcopacy in

the mission-field. The second Marquess of Cholmondeley, and his brother, the third marquess, the second, third, and fourth Earls of Harrowby, the third Earl of Chichester, the fifth Earl of Aberdeen,¹ the first Earl Cairns, Lord Charles Russell, and his brother the Rev. Lord Wriothlesley Russell, the first Lord Tollemache, Sir Brook Bridges, afterwards Lord Fitzwalter, Sir Culling Eardley, Sir Thomas Proctor-Beauchamp, Sir Harry Verney, and Captain Trotter were men deservedly honoured in the Evangelical world; favourite orators on platforms, frequent chairmen at Exeter Hall.² But by far the greatest man in the Evangelical party—indeed, one of the greatest citizens whom England has ever produced—was the seventh Earl of Shaftesbury. Some portraiture of him has been attempted in a former page, but at this point it is right that he should speak for himself.

In the autumn of 1869 Mr. Gladstone nominated Frederick Temple (1821–1902), then Head Master of Rugby and eventually Archbishop of Canterbury, to the See of Exeter. As Temple's contribution to *Essays and Reviews* had laid him under an extremely

¹ He had been converted, with startling suddenness, when he was Lord Haddo. See his *Memoir*, by E. B. Elliott.

² Exeter Hall, in the Strand, the great meeting-place of the Evangelical party, was opened in 1831 (cf. *The Ingoldsby Legends*, "The Execution").



EXETER HALL.

"Midway between the Abbey of Westminster and the Church of the Knight Templars, twin columns, emulating those of Hercules, fling their long shadows across the strait through which the far-resounding Strand pours the full current of human existence into the deep recesses of Exeter Hall."

ill-founded suspicion of heresy, a great commotion arose. Lord Shaftesbury became the president of a committee to oppose the nomination, with Dr. Pusey as vice-president. The Evangelical party stood aloof, or offered a very feeble support to the protest. On October 22, 1869, Lord Shaftesbury wrote thus in his diary: "This Temple affair has revealed many things—it has revealed the utter indifference of the country at large, the coldness and insincerity of the bulk of the Evangelicals, their disunion, their separation in place and action. It has been shown that they have much political and personal, and little spiritual, Protestantism. They dislike the appointment because Gladstone made it, and they would not oppose it lest they should be found in concurrence with Pusey. . . . It has revealed too their utter intolerance. The words—the just, true words—I wrote in praise of Pusey for that marvellous essay on Daniel,¹ which he could not have composed but by the special grace of God, have condemned me for ever in their eyes; and I doubt whether, were the vote taken

¹ *Daniel the Prophet*: Nine Lectures delivered in the Divinity School of the University of Oxford, by the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D., 1864.

Commended by Lord Shaftesbury at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Conversion of the Jews, 1866.

by ballot, they would not pronounce that I was by far the most detestable of the two."

On November 2, 1869, he wrote as follows to a friend : " The rash, unsustained attack on Dr. Temple, going so far beyond what could be proved (though not beyond what might be believed), has given Gladstone a fund of power to make what appointments he pleases ; and it has equally taken from the Evangelicals a power of resistance. They stand simply naked, weak, and beneath consideration. Here, for instance, are three deans, all eminent in their party ! The Dean of Gloucester (H. Law) joins Pusey and protests against Temple ; the Dean of Ripon (H. McNeile) protests against Temple and Pusey ; and the Dean of Exeter (A. Boyd) joins Temple, and protests against every one who differs from him. Who is to lead a regiment like that ? Even Falstaff would not march through Coventry with them."

In the last year of his life Lord Shaftesbury spoke thus to his friend Edwin Hodder, who afterwards became his biographer : " Although, as you know, I stand fast by the teaching of the Evangelicals, I do not hesitate to say that I have received, from the hands of the party, treatment that I have not received from any other. High Churchmen, Roman Catholics, even infidels, have been friendly to me ; my only enemies have been the Evangelicals."



THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY

"The name of Lord Shaftesbury will descend to posterity as one who has, in his generation, worked more than any other individual to elevate the condition and to raise the character of his countrymen."

As in a former chapter I gave the names of some Evangelicals who had seceded from the Church of England to Rome, it may be well just to mention some who seceded to various forms of Protestantism—

N. Armstrong, Rector of S. Dunstan-in-the West ; H. Dalton, Incumbent of S. Leonard's, Bridgnorth ; and H. J. Owen, Minister of Park Chapel, Chelsea, became Irvingites. H. B. Bulteel of Oxford became unattached to any denomination, as did also, in later years, C. Molyneux, Vicar of S. Paul's, Onslow Gardens ; J. B. Heard of Pinner ; and C. Stirling of New Malden. B. W. Noel became a Baptist ; C. T. Astley, Vicar of Gillingham, joined the English Presbyterian Church ; W. T. Turpin, late of Eastbourne, and A. J. Jukes, formerly of Hull, joined the Plymouth Brethren, but returned to the Church. All these were clergymen. The most noteworthy laymen who seceded were H. Drummond, S. Perceval, and J. B. Cardale, who became Irvingites ; F. W. Newman, who became a Unitarian ; Grey Hazlerigg, who became a Baptist Minister ; B. W. Newton, who joined the Plymouth Brethren ; and the third Lord Radstock, who also joined the Plymouth Brethren, but separated himself from them on the question of Eternal Punishment.

In 1870 Matthew Arnold thus described the

character and prospects of the Evangelical party: "The Evangelical party in the Church of England we must always, certainly, have a disposition to treat with forbearance, inasmuch as this party has so strongly loved what is indeed the most lovable of things—religion. They have also avoided that unblessed mixture of politics and religion by which both politics and religion are spoilt. This, however, would not alone have prevented our making them jointly answerable with the Puritans for that body of opinions which calls itself Scriptural Protestantism, but which is, in truth, a perversion of S. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. But there is this difference between the Evangelical party in the Church of England and the Puritans outside her; the Evangelicals have not added to the first error of holding this unsound body of opinions the second error of separating for them. They have thus escaped the mixing of politics and religion, which arises directly and naturally out of this separating for opinions.

"But they have also done that which we most blame Nonconformity for not doing—they have left themselves in the way of development. Practically they have admitted that the Christian Church is built, not on the foundation of Lutheran and Calvinist dogmas, but on the foundation—*Let every one that*

nameth the Name of Christ depart from iniquity. Mr. Ryle or the Dean of Ripon may have as erroneous notions as to what Truth and *the Gospel* really is as Mr. Spurgeon or the President of the Wesleyan Conference ; but they do not tie themselves tighter still to these erroneous notions, and do their best to cut themselves off from outgrowing them, by resolving *to have no fellowship with the man of sin* who holds different notions.

“On the contrary, they are worshippers in the same Church, professors of the same faith, ministers of the same confraternity, as men who hold that their *Scriptural Protestantism* is all wrong, and who hold other notions of their own quite at variance with it. And thus they do homage to an ideal of Christianity which is larger, higher, and better than either their notions or those of their opponents, and in respect of which both their notions and those of their opponents are inadequate ; and this admission of the relative inadequacy of their notions is itself a stage towards the future admission of their positive inadequacy.

“In fact, the popular Protestant theology, which we have criticized as such a grave perversion of the teaching of S. Paul, has not in the so-called Evangelical party of the Church of England its chief centre and stronghold. This party, which, following in the

wake of Wesley and others, so felt in a day of general insensibility the power and comfort of the Christian religion, and which did so much to make others feel them, but which also adopted and promulgated a scientific account so inadequate and so misleading of the religion which attracted it—this great party has done its work, and is now undergoing that law of transformation and development which obtains in a national church. The power is passing from it to others who will make good some of the aspects of religion which the Evangelicals neglected, and who will then, in their turn, from the same cause of the scientific inadequacy of their conception of Christianity, change and pass away. The Evangelical clergy no longer recruits itself with success, no longer lays hold on such promising subjects as formerly; it is losing the future, and feels that it is losing it. Its signs of a vigorous life, its gaiety and audacity, are confined to its older members, too powerful to lose their own vigour, but without successors to whom to transmit it.”¹

Whether these closing words have been made good by the event it is for others to decide. I have strictly limited myself to the function of the historian; and history does not concern itself with present or recent occurrences.

¹ *S. Paul and Protestantism*—Preface.

CHAPTER VIII

AN EVANGELICAL HOME

FOR a concluding word, let us turn from polemics to the holy memories of saving religion, as it was presented to young hearts and minds in Evangelical homes.

Let me put in the very forefront of my description the happiest and deepest of all my impressions. The Evangelicals were the most religious people whom I have ever known. I was brought up among the spiritual descendants of the men and women who constituted the Clapham Sect, and attended Henry Drummond's Prophetical Conferences at Albury ; who had seen, in the French Revolution, the first Reform Bill, and the first invasion of the cholera, unmistakable signs of that Great Tribulation which is appointed to precede the Second Advent ; and who went to their graves in utter disappointment because, through lack of faith, they were to share the common lot of Adam's sons instead of remaining alive to meet the LORD in the air.

The fathers were gone, the children survived ;

and they in turn were the parents of the generation to which I belong. To those parents I look back with loving and grateful reverence, and I recall an abiding sense of religious responsibility, a self-sacrificing energy in works of mercy, an evangelistic zeal, an aloofness from the world, and a level of saintliness in daily life, such as I do not expect again to see realized on earth.

Be it borne in mind that Evangelicals of this type were not Calvinists. They believed that CHRIST's salvation was offered to all, and that to secure an interest in it was the one object worth considering in human life. But they looked with dark misgiving on the actual state of the world. They were haunted by the awful question, *Lord, are there few that be saved?* And all their evangelistic zeal, in private and in public, derived its vivid intensity from the ever-present thought of "a mysterious eternity of anguish reserved for those who put from them through life the proffered salvation, and do final despite to the Spirit of Grace."¹

When once the great object of life had been secured—when once the individual soul had "closed with the offer of God in CHRIST," and had "acquired a saving interest in the Blood of JESUS"—a high standard of holiness in living was required, or, rather, was regarded as inevit-

¹ C. J. Vaughan (1816-97), not an Evangelical, but reared in an Evangelical home.

able. Reliance on "good works" was, of course, impossible. No work of man could justify him with God. But the Evangelicals were no Antinomians. Good works were not meritorious, but they were evidential. A disposition towards them, a persistence in them, was evidence to oneself and to one's neighbour that one was really converted. The converted man could have no pleasure in sin; the converted man must desire to work for God's glory and the salvation of his fellows. This view of life produced some admirable results. Everything, down to the minutest details of action and speech, was considered "with reference to the next world."¹ Money was regarded as a sacred trust, and people of good positions and comfortable incomes habitually kept their personal expenditure within narrow limits, in order that they might contribute more largely to objects which they held sacred. The Evangelical idea of the relation between faith and works cannot be better expressed than by this verse from a favourite hymn :

"Chosen, not for good in me,
Wakened up, from wrath to flee,
Hidden in the Saviour's side,
By the Spirit sanctified,
Teach me, LORD, on earth to show,
By my love, how much I owe."²

¹ A phrase of W. Wilberforce.

² R. M. McCheyne (1813-43).

Aloofness from the world was also regarded as inevitable. "The friendship of the world is enmity with God," and Christians must be "an holy nation, a peculiar people." But, when it came to practice, it was found difficult to maintain this tenet consistently. All Evangelicals agreed that worldliness was wicked, and that a worldly man was in a bad way. But as to what constituted worldliness they took different views. There were shades and distinctions of view among the very elect. Most of them would, like their forerunners, have condemned gambling, horse-racing, and card-playing, though the strictest, including the old Duchess of Beaufort, played chess ; and even these rules had exceptions. William Wilberforce had played cards, though with misgivings, when he dined with the Duke of Gloucester ; and the most austere of Evangelicals, Lord Shaftesbury, left this confession about racing :

"*Windsor Castle, June 8, 1841.* Arrived here last night. I find we are invited for the races at Ascot. I am sorry for it, for I cannot refuse to go there. I am the Queen's guest, and I cannot think it right to put upon my Sovereign such a rebuke as would be conveyed by my declining to accompany her. I wish to avoid and discountenance races, and I do not like to add the value of my example (such as it is) to

aid the maintenance of the practice ; but the thing is not wrong in itself, simply in its consequences. I shall acquiesce, therefore, in this instance, and pray God it may not be productive of any mischief to the slight influence I may have in the world for carrying forward measures and designs of good to mankind.

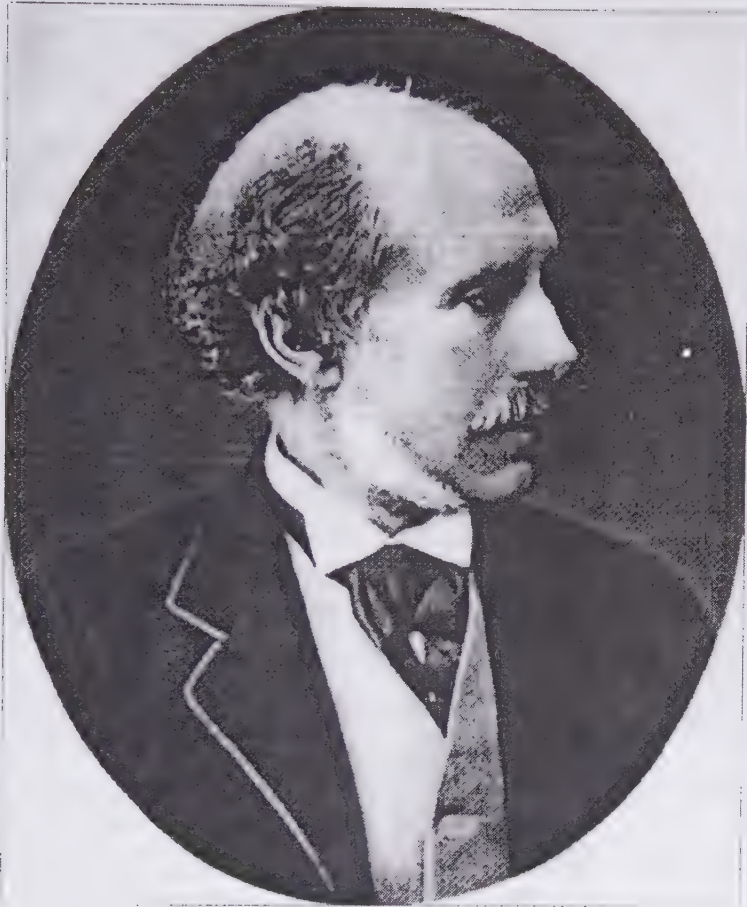
“ *June 9th.* It was a dull affair, and I hope harmless. It is a thing by itself ; it is, in fact, an annual exhibition of the Sovereign to her people, in great state and circumstance.”

Thus began, and thus ended, Lord Shaftesbury's career on the Turf.

The Opera and the Theatre were held in horror ; but the German Reeds' entertainment was permitted, because it was performed by daylight, and the scenes were called “ illustrations.” Ball-going was condemned ; but certain palliatives were admitted. In some families square dances were allowed, while round dances were forbidden. In others you might go to balls, provided that you came down to prayers at eight next morning. An invitation to the Queen's Ball was obeyed by families who would have thought an after-dinner dance in the back drawing-room an unpardonable worldliness. In 1845 the saintly William Cowper, afterwards so well known as the author of the “ Cowper-Temple Clause,” and eventually as Lord Mount Temple, made this record in his

journal: "My friends have been speaking openly to me about my going into the world, saying that, whenever the subject of inconsistency is mentioned, I am always the example quoted; that many of God's saints have been much pained by my course; and that persons connected with the London City Mission felt it a sort of insult to their body that I should have gone to the Queen's Fancy Ball the same day that I took the chair at their Anniversary Meeting, and that my picture in the *Illustrated London News* after the last Fancy Ball was the occasion of much annoyance, as showing that a man who appeared in public as a professor of spiritual religion should at the same moment appear in the public prints as a prominent mover in the frivolity and worldliness of a *bal costumé*." After weighing these rebukes, he thus expressed his conviction: "This is God's world by right, and not the devil's. Our business is to subdue it to its lawful King, and not abandon it to the enemy. Martin Luther said that what the devil hates next to prayer is mirth. All God's gifts are to be used in His service." But this eminently sane view of life and service did not commend itself to the bulk of the Evangelical party.

Again, with regard to field-sports. No one condemned shooting; but some thought hunting wicked—a distinction not altogether clear



LORD MOUNT TEMPLE.

"His firmness was as notable as his gentleness; his friends and family sometimes chaffed him for his charming way of bowing in complaisance, if something was suggested to him that he did not mean to do, and yet pursuing his way unbindered, without jar or discussion."

in principle. My father was an inveterate fox-hunter ; and a clerical friend, who was a fine horseman, said, with marked expression, "I too should like to hunt, if I could hunt with a field of saints." These slight inconsistencies of excellent people really do not deserve much criticism ; but a less admirable feature was the extraordinary severity with which the abstainer from each particular amusement condemned the non-abstainer. I fear it must be admitted that the later Evangelicals rated the law of truth higher than the law of charity.

The word "Abstainer," which I used above, reminds me of a marked difference between those days and these. The "Blue Ribbon" had not been invented. Teetotalism was looked upon with suspicion, if not disfavour. It was regarded as being a subtle form of "Works," and tending to self-reliance and self-righteousness. I cannot remember that at my father's house I ever saw a water-drinker. In 1840 Captain Trotter (1808-70), a converted Life Guardsman, incurred the following censure from a severer friend : "I am distressed to find Trotter going into the House of Commons. Who ever went in there, and came out better in his soul? It is almost as bad as throwing his park open for a Temperance Society, though I doubt not both the acts were with the very

best intentions." Of "Millennial Marsh" it is recorded that he believed in Total Abstinence as the only remedy for a confirmed drunkard, and gave up his own glass of wine for the sake of example, but "was most careful to impress upon all teetotallers who came under his influence that, if Total Abstinence were put in the place of conversion, or regarded in any other light than as the handmaid of religion, it would be a deadly injury to immortal souls." Of Spencer Thornton¹ (1813-50), Vicar of Wendover, his biographer says, almost apologetically—"It was not a love of novelty, or a want of faith in the power of the Gospel to reform and change the drunkard's heart, which led him to adopt the system of Total Abstinence; it was simply the love of souls, which made him use all means, if by any means he might save some."

The strict observance of Sunday was always a marked characteristic of Evangelical religion. No hospitality could be given or accepted on that day. In 1837 Lord Mount Temple, then recently converted, wrote in his diary: "I will hereafter refuse to dine out on Sunday. I have doubts whether the strict observance of that day is obligatory on Christians, but believe that

¹ Dr. Arnold said of Thornton, who had been his pupil at Rugby, "I would stand to that man *hat in hand*."

abstinence from secular thoughts must be advantageous to the soul. Another advantage of refusing invitations on that day is that it is a means of declaring my allegiance to Him, and will entitle me to the reproach of CHRIST." On Sunday, all kinds of games were forbidden, as also were painting, needlework, singing (except hymns), and all such exercises as riding and driving. The distinction between "Sunday books" and others was rigidly enforced; but the mild pietistic fiction of the *Sunday at Home* was permitted. Meals were scrupulously regulated so as to allow of the servants going to church; and in the more rigorous houses there was no hot food on Sunday, except, I think, eggs at breakfast, and soup and potatoes at supper after evening service.

My home was in a country town of fifteen hundred inhabitants, which contained an Independent and a Wesleyan Chapel, besides two Baptist "Meetings." The Parish Church had never been restored, but had been decorated by a former patron of the living. The east window was filled with stained glass, the central subject being the patron's coat-of-arms, with patriarchs and saints grouped round it in due subordination. Beneath the window, and between the commandments, was a picture of the Holy Family. The Holy Table was a table indeed, with legs and drawers after the

manner of a writing-table. In these drawers the candles for the reading-desk and pulpit were kept ; and I have a clear vision of the clerk hitching up the red velvet cloth and extracting the candles just before evening service. The chancel was long ; and one side of it was entirely engrossed by the patron's pew, which was enclosed in high walls and thick curtains, and contained a fireplace, two wood-baskets, and two wash-leather gloves for the use of any chilly patrician who wished to mend the fire. The opposite side of the chancel was equally engrossed by a pew for the patron's servants, but they had neither wall nor curtain, fireplace nor wood-basket. The choir, male and female after their kind, surrounded the organ in a gallery at the west end. The whole church, of course, was pewed throughout and whitewashed ; and on the capital of each pillar was a scutcheon, bearing the arms of some family allied to the patron. The largest and most vivid presentment of the Royal Arms which I have ever seen crowned the chancel arch.¹

Our clerical staff consisted of a vicar and a curate. Our list of services was as follows : Sundays—11 a.m., Morning Prayer, "Table Prayers," and sermon ; 6 p.m., Evening

¹ This church, built by the last Abbot of Woburn, was destroyed in 1864.

Prayer and sermon. There was also a short Service at 3 p.m. when Holy Baptism was administered. There was Evening Prayer and a sermon on Thursdays, and a prayer-meeting in the schoolroom on Tuesday evenings. There were no extra services in Lent or Advent, nor on any holy days except Ash Wednesday and Good Friday (when we had Morning Prayer), and Ascension Day (when we had Evening Prayer). The Holy Communion was administered after Morning Service on the first Sunday of the month, and on Christmas and Easter Days. Evening Communions on the third Sunday of the month were introduced in 1865; and the Athanasian Creed was discontinued about the same time. The Elements were always placed on the table before Morning Service began, and the words of administration were said once to a "rail-full." The black gown was, of course, worn in preaching; and I remember a mild sensation caused by the disuse of bands. The prayers were preached, the Psalms were read; and the hymn-book in use was the *Mitre* collection, succeeded in 1864 by *The Church and Home Metrical Psalter and Hymnal*. It would not be easy to describe the dismalness of the services, and the preaching corresponded to them. This is curious, for Evangelical preaching had generally been rousing and effective.

I remember that one heard sermons of that type from strangers who occasionally "took duty" or "pleaded for Societies"; but our own pastors always expatiated on Justification by Faith, with an occasional hit at ritualistic errors. I cannot recall any other subject; and topical allusions and illustrations, whether from nature or from books, were rigorously eschewed. Looking back, I find it impossible to believe that the hearers enjoyed this preaching, or got much good from it. One of them said, "You might go to church here for a year, and never hear that murder or thieving was wrong." But, on the whole, they were satisfied. It was "the Gospel," and they asked for nothing more.

It is pleasant to turn from the church to the home, and to consider the religious training which was given there. First and foremost, we were taught "the Gospel Plan," which was, briefly, that all mankind were utterly sinful, and therefore in danger of Hell; that God had provided deliverance in the atoning Death of CHRIST; and that, if only we would accept the offer of salvation so made, we were forgiven, reconciled, and safe. That acceptance was "Conversion." The word was constantly in use. "A converted character" was one who had "closed with the offer." An unconverted character was one who had not;

and that was the vital difference which divided the whole human family into two groups. Some people were held to have been "converted" in their infancy ; to others the change occurred at various stages ; but a date could generally be assigned. With the emulousness of childhood one envied one's converted elders, and wished to be converted too.¹ The idea of conversion as a dateable event came so naturally to one that I remember telling a High Church visitor that such and such a year had been the year of my youngest sister's conversion. The High Churchman replied, "I think you must mean her Confirmation," but I didn't, for the excellent reason that she had been admitted to Communion without being confirmed.

Such was the substance of our teaching ; the method was as follows. From our very earliest years we were taught the Bible, at first orally ; and later we were encouraged to read it, by gifts of attractively-bound copies. I remember that our aids to study were Adam Clarke's *Commentary*, B. E. Nicholls's *Help to the Reading of the Bible*, and a book called *Light in the Dwelling*.² Hymns played a great part in our

¹ In this connexion let me recall the month of May, 1864. *LAUS DEO*.

² By Mrs. Mortimer, born Favell Lee Bevan, whom Cardinal Manning called his "spiritual mother."

training. As soon as we could speak we learned "When rising from the bed of death," and "Beautiful Zion, built above"; "Rock of Ages," and "Jesu, Lover of my soul," were soon added. The Catechism we were never taught; I was confirmed without learning it. It was said to be too difficult; of course, it really was too sacramental. By way of an easier exercise I was constrained to learn the *Shorter Catechism of the General Assembly of Divines at Westminster*. We had Family Prayers both morning and evening. My father read a chapter, very much as the fancy took him, or where the Bible opened of itself; and he read without note or comment.¹ I remember a very distinct impression on my infant mind that the portions of the Bible which were read at Prayers had no meaning, and that the public reading of the words, without reference to sense, was an act of piety. After the chapter, my father read a prayer from a book—William Wilberforce's, or Henry Thornton's, or Bishop Ashton Oxenden's.

While we were still very young children we were carefully incited to acts of practical charity. We began by carrying dinners to the sick and aged poor; then we went on to reading hymns and bits of the Bible to the blind and unlettered. As soon as we were old enough

¹ This was not the usual practice in Evangelical houses.

we became teachers in Sunday schools, and conducted classes and cottage-meetings. From the very beginning we were taught to save up our money for good causes. Each of us had a missionary-box; and I remember another box, in the counterfeit presentment of an ivy-covered church, which received contributions for the Church Pastoral Aid Society.

It is only right to say that, whatever theories were entertained about the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, our preparation at home for our first Communion was careful, earnest, and solemn; and the manual put into our hands—Ashton Oxenden's *Earnest Communicant*—breathes a spirit of most fervent piety. Our whole training, indeed, illustrated once again Henry Drummond's wise saying that "religious people are generally right in what they affirm and wrong in what they deny." The constructive part of my early teaching has always been, and is, the bed-rock of my religious life; but, as time went on and one passed from home into a wider world, the negative dialectics of the Low Church party seemed to wear a little thin. Echoes of the old controversy come back on memory's ear from various quarters—"Dr. Pusey has no moral sense." "A High Church layman may be honest, but a High Church clergyman cannot, for he eats the bread of a Protestant

Church while he undermines its bulwarks." "Infidelity and superstition, those kindred evils, go hand in hand." "Baptismal Regeneration means that every one baptized in infancy, whatever his subsequent life, must be finally saved." "No sin which you have to confess could be so bad as the sin of confessing it." And, if the subject under discussion touched the doctrine of the Ministry or the Sacraments, it was briefly concluded in this saying: "It's all very well to talk, but there's one Mediator between God and man."

In the insistence on that text, however oddly misapplied, there spoke what was best and most characteristic in Evangelical Religion—the passionate zeal for our LORD's unshared prerogatives, and the profound conviction that, in the supreme work of salvation, no human being and no created thing may interpose itself between the soul and the Creator. Happy is the man whose religious life has been built on the impregnable rock of that belief. *Sit anima mea cum Sanctis.* May my lot be with the Evangelical Saints from whose lips I first learned the doctrine of the Cross.

APPENDIX

THE Church Missionary Society is, in a special sense, the creation of the Evangelical Movement in the Church of England. In other societies, such as the Bible Society, the Society for promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, and the London City Mission, the Evangelicals co-operated with Dissenters ; but the Church Missionary Society is essentially an association of Churchmen. It was founded on April 12, 1799, at a meeting of sixteen clergymen and five laymen, who resolved that "there seems to be still wanting in the Established Church a society for sending Missionaries to the Continent of Africa, or the other parts of the heathen world," and that "the persons present at this meeting do form themselves into a Society for that purpose." It was further resolved that "a Deputation be sent from this Society to the Archbishop of Canterbury as Metropolitan, the Bishop of London as Diocesan, and the Bishop of Durham as Chairman of the Mission Committee of the Society for Promoting

Christian Knowledge, with a copy of the Rules of the Society, and a respectful letter."

The list of the original committee and officials of the Society contains several names which we have encountered in the preceding narrative—William Wilberforce, Sir Richard Hill, Admiral (afterwards Lord) Gambier, Charles Grant, Henry Hoare, Samuel Thornton, and Henry Thornton; and, among clergymen, Richard Cecil, William Goode, John Newton, Josiah Pratt, Thomas Scott, John Venn, and Basil Woodd.

Some notion of the success which has attended this Venture of Faith may be gathered from the following statistics, supplied by the kindness of Mr. Eugene Stock, D.C.L.

FIELDS OF WORK—

West Africa : Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Hausaland.

East Africa : British East Africa.

German East Africa.

Uganda and neighbouring countries.

Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

Egypt.

Palestine.

Turkish Arabia.

Persia.

India : Bengal, Bihar, United Provinces, Central Prov., Punjab, Kashmir, N.W. Frontier, Bombay, Madras, Telugu districts, Tinnevely, Travancore, Cochin. (In 9 out of the 11 dioceses.)

Ceylon.

Mauritius.

China : Hong Kong, Provinces of Kwantung, Fukien, Chekiang, Kwangsi, Hunan, Szechuan. (In 5 out of the 11 dioceses, English, Canadian, American.)

Japan : In all the four big Islands. (In 4 out of the 7 dioceses, English, Canadian, American.)

N.W. Canada. (In 9 out of the 13 dioceses.)

New Zealand. (All work now handed over to the Church.)

MISSIONARIES—

Ordained	-	-	-	-	424
(Including 19 bishops supported.)					
Laymen	-	-	-	-	123
Wives	-	-	-	-	382
Single Women	-	-	-	-	456
					<hr/>
					1385
					<hr/>

(Including 85 doctors and 71 nurses, for the Medical Missions.)

WORKERS OF THE NATIVE RACES—

Clergy	-	-	-	-	475
Laymen and Women	-	-	-	-	10,404

UNIVERSITY GRADUATES—

Of the White Clergy	-	-	229
Of the Native Clergy	-	-	47
Of the Laymen	-	-	62
Of the Women	-	-	53

EDUCATIONAL WORK—

Colleges : General (1st Grade)	-	10
High Schools	- - -	61
Divinity Schools, Colleges, etc.	-	35
Total of Schools of all sorts	-	3,562
„ Scholars „		238,800

MEDICAL WORK—

Hospitals	- - -	40
Beds	- - -	4,071
In-patients, 1914	- -	43,835
Out-patient visits	- -	1,269,520

NATIVE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES—

Baptized Christians	- -	395,179
Catechumens	- -	55,212
Of these, Communicants	-	121,110

BAPTISMS IN 1913—

Adult Converts	- -	17,225
Children of Christians	-	15,593
(About 47 adult converts baptized every day in the year, on the average.)		

TRANSLATIONAL AND OTHER LITERARY WORK—

In about 50 languages.

INCOME—

For the year ending March, 1915, £369,539.

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